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JOURNAL AND MEMOIRS
OF THE
MARQUIS D'ARGENSON

VOLUME II



Carl Van Loo

Louis XV.

Argenson, F. de L. de Villeroy

JOURNAL AND MEMOIRS OF THE
MARQUIS D'ARGENSON

IN TWO VOLUMES
VOLUME II

BY E. J. B. RATHERY

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY C.-A. SAINTE-BEUVE

TRANSLATED BY KATHARINE PRESCOTT WORMELEY
ILLUSTRATED WITH PORTRAITS FROM THE ORIGINAL



VOLUME III

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JOURNAL AND MEMOIRS

OF

THE MARQUIS D'ARGENSON.

I.

1747—1748.

[FEBRUARY 26, 1747.¹] The royal family is beginning to conspire against Mme. de Pompadour; at the last hunt she was in the calèche of the dauphin, the dauphine, and Mesdames, who all agreed to say nothing to her, no matter what she said to them. She raged, she roared.

So here is the storm beginning to swell; they mean to take the king on the inconveniences of possessing a mistress of such low birth, and little by little bring him to disgust through shame: for this purpose the dauphin would not let the dauphine go to the private theatricals, and made her sham illness. The queen guides the family with certain advice which she has taken; M. de Maurepas whispers this system in her ear; and by this means she is getting some consideration at Court; whereas the king takes no counsel, and has confidence in no one, not even his mistress. In what danger I see him stand on all sides! I have endeavoured to be his friend; I did so through the purest truth, absolutely detached from ambition, and they told him I had not the "Court air;" he believed them, and dismissed me. I was the only one who would have guided him aright.

¹ The journal begins again at this date, and in these words. — Tr.

Three circles of the four *anterieurs* have joined the circle of Austria; that of Suabia alone resists; soon the decree of imperial security will pass the Diet at Ratisbon, and in two months they will have an army of forty thousand men on the Rhine; the Austrian hussars will camp among them and insult us incessantly in Alsace and Lorraine. The Prince de Conti will disdain the command of so small an army as ours; already he is siding with the malcontents, and I fear there are many combustible matters ready to give rise to troubles. The king may be as absolute as he will in fact and right, in character and practice, but we must have consistent counsels to direct affairs, otherwise the most absolute of kings will find difficulties that cannot be surmounted and will only increase.

The treaty with Sweden has failed; Russia opposed great obstacles and marched regiments into Finland; every one inveighed against our treaty; the Comte de Tessin dared not take the place of Comte Gyllemburg, the Russian ambassador at Stockholm was sustained; the King of Prussia dared not ally himself with us, and still less to seem to do so; the Swedish Diet is nearly over, and with it all hopes of that alliance; the whole thing fails because of the King of Prussia's lack of confidence in our ministry.

[February 28.] Persons who see clearly and who stand well at Court declare that Mme. de Pompadour will soon be dismissed; the cause being the king's shame at his fetters and at the love he has placed so low. The Prince de Conti, on leaving the Court made a furious assault upon the Pâris. It is the royal family who will be the instrument of this expulsion. The dauphin and Mesdames, under orders from the queen, have begun to attack the marquise by openly showing their contempt and barely speaking to her; they mean to propose to the king a system of amusement in his

own family, of which he is very fond, and where he always finds pleasure; he will play cards and sup there; he likes the new dauphine very much; she enlivens him. The sure and secret trick by which to take the king is *le bon air*, good style, and there is plenty to attack in that respect in the mistress and the company she brings about him.

[March 13.] The dauphin increases in coarseness, in apathy, in hatred to his father's mistress; the moment he sees her his temper shows itself; the queen fans the flame. An angry affair has just happened about the command of the dauphin's regiment, vacant by the death of M. de Volvire. Mme. de Pompadour asked for it for one of her friends; she sent as usual for the minister of war [Comte d'Argenson]. He explained to her that the dauphin had earnestly requested it for M. de Marbeuf, nephew of the Abbé de Marbeuf, his reader. Mme. de Pompadour was angry, and asked why the dauphin should meddle in the matter; wrangle, complaints, bitterness; finally the matter had to be yielded to the dauphin, but M. de Marbeuf was made to pay eighty thousand francs for the regiment.

Two new offices of ladies-in-waiting to Mesdames have just been created; this contributes to swell expenses. M. de Puitsieux [secretary of State for Foreign Affairs] has had a pension of thirty thousand *livres* given him by way of consolation for his suffering in his recent illness; they have bestowed two thousand *livres* on each of the authors of the music and words of a bad ballet given in praise of Mme. de Pompadour; they have also given two thousand crowns to Deshayes, an Italian actor who arranges the ballets for the little comedies of the king at Versailles. There is an outcry against all this, and it must be owned that such expenses are not in proportion to the necessities of the present conjuncture.

The dauphin and Mesdames are becoming melancholy, and are giving way to their personal tastes without constraint; they dislike seeing any one, and never speak to others; their talk is of death and catafalques; they amuse themselves by playing quadrille in their dark antechamber by the light of one yellow wax candle and saying to one another with delight, "We are dead."¹

M. de Maurepas increases in favour with the king, while I have been dismissed from my ministry because, showing with sincerity the necessity of peace (however made), I brought forward the means of doing so, while others retrograded. I formed for the king a strong party in Germany, both for the present moment and for that succeeding the peace; I smoothed his enemies, I preserved and inspired his friends; above all, I showed by my conduct that confidence could be placed in our sincerity.

M. de Maurepas is inexcusable in allowing our navy to run down; the parsimony of the late cardinal is no valid excuse; a zealous and intelligent man manages to do the little he has to do the best he can. Has he ever yet made a journey to any of the ports? He prefers an idle, intriguing life in Paris to all that urgent duty suggests for so essential a minister.

They tell an amusing tale in public of how the king dreamed the other night about cats; he saw four of them fighting: one thin, one fat, one blind of an eye, one blind in both eyes. A faithful valet explained to him his dream thus: "The thin cat is your people; the fat cat is the

¹ Louis XV. had ten children of whom one son, the dauphin, and six daughters, Mesdames, grew up. The daughters were as follows: the eldest, Louise-Élisabeth, married to Don Philip, Infant of Spain, became Duchess of Parma; the others (all unmarried) were: Madame Henriette (1727-1752); Madame Adélaïde (1732-1800); Madame Victoire (1733-1799); Madame Sophie (1734-1782); Madame Louise (1737-1787). — Tr

financiers; the one-eyed cat is your council; and the blind cat is your Majesty, who does not choose to see anything."

[July 27.] The different Court parties have united into two. At the head of one is the Prince de Conti and his mother [granddaughter of the Great Condé]. M. de Maurepas is the soul of it at Court, but in the greatest secrecy. The least of his duties is that of the navy, which he does so ill; the true office he has taken upon himself, and which he performs with the ability of a genius and a great man, is that of governing the Court by embroiling it, of managing women, and turning the royal family against the king. He has excited the queen to jealousy, Madame Henriette to hate her father, the dauphin to declare war against his father's mistress. My brother has put himself into this miserable party, thinking that there was nothing so useful at Court as to be on the side of a prince of the blood. In the other party are the Pâris, Maréchal de Saxe, Mme. de Pompadour, and M. de Puitsieux. The latter, however, is gentle and the friend of everybody. The bottom of his mind is hidden beneath a veil of delicacy and friendliness to all; the Pâris want only valets in the ministry; at the cost of a little work and a few successes they attain their end, which is to continue the war, make much money out of it, and so master the State.¹ I was not their man; they found that out in a very short time. I failed in compliance to their vile henchmen. Like Chavigny, I held out against them, and I brought the whole courtier crowd upon my back because I attached myself solely to the king and the State. There are some men at Court who belong to everybody, like Puitsieux; and a few who belong to no one, like me.

¹ The Pâris, three brothers, financiers; one called Pâris-Duverney another Pâris-Montmartel; formerly charged with examining the system of Law. — Tr.

My brother carries on his alliance with Maurepas with the utmost secrecy. He concurred in sacrificing me in order to gain merit with the irritated courtiers, and believed himself all the stronger for not having to support, externally, a brother he could not disavow, but who had become a burden to him. The Noailles are among the Court dandies; they decide nothing, they add only numbers without weight.

The great object, and the most culpable of all, has been to make the Maréchal de Saxe fail in this campaign, in order to force his retirement as Commander-in-chief, either by his own act or by violence. For this reason, they forced him to fight the battle of Lawfeldt, at which there was such slaughter. When he came to receive the thanks of his Majesty he said to him: "This is the result, sire, of forcing generals." After that he wrote as if disgusted and wishing to retire from the generalship and the Court also; he makes no secret of his feelings. The object of the Court party is to give the command-in-chief to the Prince de Conti. Such are the horrors of a Court.

Which will carry the day? the Pâris or the party of the Prince de Conti? I think that Maréchal de Saxe's threat of leaving will act like a thunderbolt on the mind of the king; the maréchal has a way of speaking naturally to his Majesty which carries everything before it; I have seen that; and he is now supported by the strongest side.

[August 30.] M. de Richelieu has just passed through Paris on his way to replace the Duc de Boufflers at Genoa. The King of Sardinia having asked for him, he flew there with joy and pride, foreseeing great things from his elevation. Born with talents, he has cultivated the worldly ones, but has clung too long to those of youth; he has carried off more women than he ever seduced; for he dares all with them;

endowed with graces and reputation in their eyes, his smile agreeable, eloquent and vigorous, himself rich and a spend-thrift — what attractions are these to win the favours of those weak and frivolous beings!

He is a very frank man, saying out to his friends what he feels, and often what he thinks; his vivacity keeps him in constant movement, even violent movement; he reserves to himself sometimes, however, a few delicate, shrewd strokes which come of his knowledge of the world and of affairs. His nature is French in that respect, and Cardinal de Richelieu must have been of the same kind. He is not malignant nor vindictive; he is what is called a good-natured man [*bonhomme*] in this century of ours; but he is not loving; libertinism alone and the moment of sensibility have produced his amours and his friendships; he is a man more suited to women than for any friendship with his own sex; I have seen my father in this human group, and going farther in it than any one.

The Duc de Richelieu has more ambition than solidity of mind; he wants magnificent things for their glory and for himself; he places that magnificence in resounding externals rather than in things of weight. A slave to fashion, clinging to his epoch, an old butterfly, he has remained the amateur of interesting trifles, admitting no philosophy. He recalls nothing of antique honour nor of former manners and morals, because he has not in his mind the same courage that he has in his heart. Pride makes him brave with distinction; he despises death as a gambler despises ruin, liking risks and confiding in his luck.

Nevertheless, this total makes a very distinguished man of the epoch in which we live, when all elevation is so rare; his talents, his appearance, his eloquence, his boldness in speech, the brilliancy of his designs have dazzled his con-

temporaries, and I admit with pleasure that he deserves reputation and great distinction.

[October 1.] It is a question to be cleared up whether the English gain more in continuing to make war under our present terms, or in ceasing to do so ; on that point rest our hopes of peace or our just despair of it.

The English nation is philosophical ; it is composed of men who think much and continuously ; we see that by their books ; consequently, their important deliberations contain much meaning. Let us not be taken by what at first sight strikes us ; we do not see the meaning of things that are well thought out except by results. Thus we see the English miserly and grumbling against their government, and yet duped by a king who violates their constitution and corrupts their deputies ; wait, and judge only after examination. Their avarice is cupidity, which leads them to extract great profits from foreigners and small ones from their own people ; whereas the greed of our rich men in France leads to making profits of citizens on citizens, the king on the people, the *rentiers* and pensioners on the king, the courtiers on the financiers and offices. The order of financiers is in France what that of merchants is in England, and these extortioners are the leeches of our people. It is not so in England, or is little so. *Conductores vectigalium publicorum* are scarcely known to the very rich. This is the good of commerce : to be the leech of foreigners, not of our own people.

As for the other point, namely, that the English seem duped by a king who corrupts them : I think they have preserved the essence of their government ; the old laws are maintained among them ; the new laws are useful ; the public are stipulated for and defended, which is not the case in France ; their grumblers, their newspapers rise against the ministry, and upset it sometimes.

Let us give up believing that liberty is perishing in England; on the contrary, it is increasing under a king as dull and coarse in behaviour as the present [George II.].

We see the war becoming nationally English now that it is no longer Germanic and Hanoverian; and we see it conducted on English principles. Let us calculate what the English will gain or lose in this war, what they may expect and count upon, and we shall know when they will let it cease. I see that already they are adding to, not indeed the treasury, but the capital of the nation; and this by their universal commerce and by the weakening of France and French commerce. They are working now to bring Holland to a declaration of war against France, and in that way they will gain still more.

A great objection that I make to myself is that Robert Walpole was for the continuation of peace and opposed war, even to the extent of being dismissed for it. Nevertheless, Walpole was a great minister, under whom commerce and the enriching of the nation made the greatest progress. I answer, that when he opposed war he did not then see the possibility that France would cut her own throat and fall into all traps, as she has done. It would take too long to prove this here; but, to say it in a few words, France and Spain have no longer a navy and soon will have no privateers; we have turned against us those who ought to be our allies, such as the King of Sardinia; we are about to lose Spain; we have irritated the Dutch; we have twice missed the blow we ought to have given for the Pretender; we are ruining ourselves by our conquests instead of becoming the richer by them.

It is thus that England, contrary to Walpole's opinion, has become, without difficulty, mistress of continuing a war of enrichment, mistress of all commerce, having conquered

Cape Breton from us and being on the eve of taking other of our settlements; she spends only some thirty millions (of our money) in foreign subsidies which procure her troops that are cheaper than ours; she sees our extravagance in that direction. For all these reasons England naturally wishes to continue the present situation.

[October 12.] The influence of the Pâris on the king's decisions is at its height, and presently we shall suffer still further from it. His Majesty's mind has been stunned with a view of all that depends on the Pâris brothers: money, credit, easy resources to obtain money *ad infinitum*, and as long as it may suit him to carry on the war. They flatter the passions of the king with talk of a lofty and superlative war. Thus they have gainsaid my system of softening bitterness to lessen discord with armistices *de facto* as happened in Germany. Instead of that, I hear Pâris-Duverney saying: "Let me act; we will fall upon the Dutch; we shall soon be in Amsterdam, where we will dictate peace, as the King of Prussia dictated it from Dresden."

On such fine promises I was driven from the ministry as being detrimental to that glorious peace that Pâris-Duverney was to give us shortly. Puyseux [his successor] has not blinked, he has done all that Duverney dictated. My brother has profited by it; the war has made his empire. But will the king never open his eyes to the falsity of mind and the folly of the Sieur Duverney? He is a daring fanatic who wants to break rather than bend; he will ruin himself and the State also. This man, of much imagination, boldness, and experience of the world, governed despotically under M. le Duc; he knows the ins and outs of the seraglio, he has commanded and governed a Bourbon. But he is very careful not to appear himself; he puts in front of him

such an apparently good man as his brother Pâris-Montmartel, his organ, inspired by his eloquence and full of his ideas. To this he has joined the mistress (of his own making) and all that a favourite draws after her of devoted servitors. They showed the king that finance was interested in sustaining the Pâris; that everything would crumble if they were removed, but that all became easy under their financial art and by their English style of calculation; in short, to maintain them was the highest policy. All our princes of the house of Bourbon love money passionately; thus this reasoning of itself made the Pâris very acceptable and valuable to our master. Love of glory, a character of childish self-will, more tenderness than justice, led the king to follow, with a species of honour, these inspired designs.

We may therefore say that the king passed from the rod of the cardinal under that of the Pâris. Those gentlemen have, besides, much ready money with which to seduce and win a needy and low-bred Court like the present one. Frenchmen so brave, so generous in war, are here selling their honour and their faith for baubles.

The management of our finances has this of good, however: the great order in the accounts and the rise of credit. The Pâris, bankers by trade, excel in those two directions; but they exhaust the provinces, treating them as if enforcing contributions from the enemy. The provinces are depopulating, they are being ruined; but Paris still has money to lend the king. All the affairs undertaken to-day are forced loans and swindling transactions. The new lottery is only a loan of thirty millions, which will have to be returned; it is expected that foreigners will take it up. Therefore France will soon owe thirty millions to foreign countries.

[November 18.] M^{me}. —, well informed as to the secrets of the House, of Stuart has related to me what

follows: Cardinal de Tencin and M. and Mme. O'Brien received a very large sum of money from England to induce Prince Henry Stuart to let himself be made a cardinal. This is what England desired above everything; the prince is now excluded forever from the throne of his fathers, and that has much effect on his elder brother and on his race, should he have any. What those Stuart princes needed was just the contrary; they ought to have kept away from Rome, and from all air of catholicity, and even to have pushed that estrangement to affectation. O'Brien, who is seen to be richer than he was, has, together with his wife, persuaded King James (Chevalier de Saint-George, or the Pretender) to a thing so contrary to his honour and his interests. They have taken both father and son on the question of religion, assuring them that if ever the Duke of York should come to the throne in default of his elder brother it could only be by maintaining his Catholic faith. They have reached the father through the son, who is all Italian, sly, superstitious, miserly, loving his ease, and above all jealous and hating his brother.

[December 1.] The royal lottery languishes; the ardour for prospective gain has cooled since it has become known that the scheme will only reimburse the Sieurs Pâris for their advances. Seven millions are still needed to make up the thirty millions, and that is no trifle. They say the farmers-general are willing to pay the prizes, premiums, and income for twelve years, which would amount in all to thirty-six millions. This sum is an additional payment on their leases advanced for the coming twelve years, which will be a benefit for both parties. His Majesty will have borrowed from the public the gross sum of thirty millions, and his farmers-general agree to return it for him. Certainly the Sieurs Pâris manage the finances well; but as for politics, they and

their valet Puyseux conduct them with the utmost stupidity—for I am sure they look to good and do not sin intentionally.

[December 16.] There is some relaxation of the exile (on account of Mme. de Châteauroux) of the Ducs de La Rochefoucauld, Châtillon, and the Bishop of Soissons; they have permission to come to Paris and stay there as long as they like, but the Court is closed to them. The following is a letter which M. de Fitz-James, Bishop of Soissons, taking advantage of the king's stay at Compiègne, which is in his diocese, addressed to his Majesty.

"Though the depravity," the letter said, "of morals and irreligion has reached such extremes in our day, still the ideas of vice and virtue are not so confused (except by a few *petits maîtres* and abandoned women whom the rest of the world despise) that there is no horror at adultery and especially public adultery. If a private individual in my diocese were in the position your Majesty is in, I should be compelled to reprove him publicly and employ the ecclesiastical censure to correct him." Then, reminding the king of the scenes during his illness at Metz, he added, "To what degree, sire, has not this scandal risen since? You have carried off the wife of your neighbour; you have compelled him, against his will, to separate from her legally. By an overthrow of the order which ought to rule in all ranks and conditions of men, all the orders of the State are made to grovel before that idol. In the highest rank at Court is now to be seen a person of the lowest class, who has no other title to be there but debauchery," etc.

[December 19.] There has lately been established in our Academy of Belles Lettres a system of tyranny never known before, and which destroys the company of men of letters. Five or six followers of M. de Maurepas (in whose depart-

ment is the Academy) assume to govern everything, to set up favourites, and humble all who are bound to them; they want to crush the *Sieur Racine*, son of the great *Racine*, who is an enemy to some of them and whose father once made verses against the late *Duc de Nivers*; the *Duc de Nivernais*, his son, being now the president of the Academy. *Fréret*, a very learned man, but little suited to the functions of ruling and impartiality, was unfortunately chosen as permanent secretary of the Academy, instead of *M. de Boze*, who had all the necessary qualifications; he has brought disorder into it; and he works no longer on the memoranda, so that for the last seven years none have been made. The Academy's work is therefore stopped. Men of letters need to be encouraged, not harassed by tyranny and intrigue; they need to live peaceably in their studies, issuing only to communicate the fruit of their labour; they are startled and alarmed by noise, like an aviary of melodious birds.

[December 21.] Theatricals are played in the cabinets, and the king has taken more and more a habit of attending them; not from taste, for of all the representations it is that of the Italians to which he goes the most regularly. The comedy of "*Le Méchant*" by the *Sieur Gresset* is being rehearsed; the more I see that play on the stage the more I find the studies for it made from nature. *Cléon*, the *Méchant*, is composed of three characters whom I recognize perfectly: *M. de Maurepas* in the tirades and the hasty judgments on men and on works of the understanding; the *Duc d'Ayen* for the back-biting and the secret revelations; and my brother for the things of the soul, pleasures and allurements. *Géronte* and *Valère* conceal names too respectable to be mentioned here; they are good and simple souls reduced by the evil company that surrounds them. *Ariste* is everywhere, all that honest men who know how to reason

ought to be. Pasquin is President Hénault, a good-natured gossip, though with a soul for belles-lettres. So, one may say: *Mutato nomine, de te fabula narratur*.

The Marquise du Châtelet and Voltaire have been dismissed from the Court at Sceaux [the Duchesse du Maine's Court] on account of certain invitations which they issued to their plays. Voltaire gave five hundred notes of invitation to his friends, in which he said, as an agreeable inducement, that they would not see the Duchesse du Maine.

The Duc d'Ayen has a 10,000-*livres* pension on the alms list, a fund of 100,000 *livres* which the grand-almoner of France distributes,—funds that were intended for widows and orphans; the Princesse de Carignan has 20,000 *livres* from the same fund. The family of Maréchal de Noailles represent that he is ruining himself by bad administration, without spending anything and living like the shabby creature that he is: they have forced him to put his property in trust and have reduced him to a stipend. Such are the sort of men who wish to govern, and do govern us.

They have given, without any necessity, 3000 *livres* pension to little Bernard, the poet [Gentil Bernard], who already had a salary of 12,000 *livres* as secretary of the dragoon corps, and they have made him librarian at Choisy.

There is no talk of anything in Paris but poverty; all things are getting dearer and incomes are diminishing through the scarcity of money, the disappearance of commerce, and the taxes which are due incessantly. Nevertheless, balls are given, though suppers are cut off; provisions are double in cost, and it is not known how we can keep Lent.

The Maréchal de Saxe goes little to Court and lives delightfully, or rather voluptuously in Paris with courtesans; he has set up the household of several favourite ones.

He treats the minister of war with great and honourable circumspection as befits a wise man, and it is this that will make him all the more dangerous when he deals the minister blows which will not then seem acts of passion, but of judgment.

[January 10, 1748.] *A dream.* I imagined that the king sent for me and said: "Every one deceives me; none but you tell me the truth. My affairs are at their worst; I am being led into a labyrinth of war and expense from which I cannot extricate myself; perhaps I shall perish in it,—I, and my State."

I answered: "Let me be master of all; I will return you a good account. Let me act; I shall lay myself open to attack as to means, but it will end in absolute success. Without being ambitious, I propose myself to your Majesty as prime-minister. Make me Keeper of the Seals without taking them or their functions from the chancellor; give me the survivance, and, when I succeed him it will be to replace myself by a Keeper of the Seals who will perform all the functions.

"M. de Maurepas must be removed, and exiled to Pontchartrain. Forbid the Court to the Maréchal de Noailles; leave him at liberty to live in Paris, but exile him four leagues from Versailles, taking from him the assistance of the councils.

"My brother can be kept till the place of Keeper of the Seals can be had, as I said above, but even then, control him in matters of the Church and other opportunities for intrigue; meantime, in the ministry of war, which he fills cleverly but not faithfully, amateur and skilful artist in Court intrigue, he must be watched; my work will repress the dangerous details of his.

"Reduce the Pâris to their trade of financiers and bankers;

far from injuring their credit, let us increase it by encouraging such of their business as shall make them seem the more solid ; let us take from the public all fear that the statesman cannot rise above the banker.

“ Your Majesty cannot keep to the embraces of the queen ; but change the mistress ; take one who is prettier and more healthy than the Marquise de Pompadour, and let her lead a more decorous life ; take a free young girl, and not a married woman ; and let that sultana live in a small house in Versailles, coming in the evenings only to sup with your Majesty, or after supper on the grand concert days. Let your Majesty choose five or six courtiers from among the most honourable men at Court, and keep yourself to them, in place of the indecent crowd of to-day, among whom political affairs are talked of like town gossip, a thing which puts your Majesty in a bad light before Paris and the Court ; employ the rest of the day in amusements more intelligent and more worthy of you.

“ As for what concerns me, I want no other salary than my pensions ; and if, for extraordinary expenses — the extinguishment of my debts, the completion of my buildings at Argenson — I should ask for anything as the reward of my toil, it would be for some twenty-five thousand or thirty thousand *livres* now and then. I should have an apartment in the château, near to the king ; I should never have more than six covers at dinner, for my best friends with whom I feel free ; I should keep my present house in Paris ; I should go there seldom ; I should stay in Versailles. I should begin with the Court people by showing them neither friendship nor dislike, declaring that I had, less than ever, any obligations towards them — especially since my dismissal, when they all abandoned me, except two or three persons at the most. ✓

"I should belong wholly to the king; given over to his sole interests, his happiness, his glory, and the welfare of the country.

"I should exact from his Majesty, for the success of my plans, that he would promise me two things: first, to listen to no one but me (or only in my presence) on public matters; secondly, to listen to no courtier about me, and to turn his back on whoever opened his mouth on these two subjects, and order him to be silent.

"I should be accessible at all hours to all ministers and those employed on details who might need decisions. I should often give them memoranda, recapitulations, instructions and plans on each affair, and they would work on these details; thus I should need but few clerks.

"I should soon give peace to the kingdom; and I should cause ameliorations and economies. I should establish the reputation of great sincerity. I should spare the king work and much embarrassment; above all, I should spare him those cursèd Court intrigues, those iniquitous cabals in his family which are destroying him with grief and the kingdom with trouble.

"I should be assiduous in working with the ministers before the king; and have little to say to his Majesty in private, and only after the others had departed. I should banish, I should break up what is called "the cabinet of posts;" I should content myself with doing right, and let who would write what he chose to his friends. Nothing is more dangerous than to confide the secrets of State to un-sealers of letters."

[January 29.] M. de Machault, the new controller-general, is distressed at the state of his ministry; the matters of credit and circulation depend on the stability of the MM. Pâris and Boullongne; but certain important things

depend on himself and he is answerable for them; such as the new taxes they want to put upon the people to sustain the war, which are meeting with great difficulty as to their registration by parliament. The Chambers are to assemble Tuesday, and a great tumult is feared. The parliament has a terrible stock of grievances in the treatment it received last year as to the affairs of the Unigenitus; it is possible that great debates may arise between the will of the Court and the republican sentiments of a body which the government believed it could do without, but to which, nevertheless, it is forced to return whenever the credit of loans is exhausted. All this is grief to M. de Machault, who changes much, continuing to eat what there is of best in the new kitchen. He has quarrelled with my brother, his first benefactor, complaining much of the costs of the war; during the campaign he allied himself with Mme. de Pompadour and the brothers Pâris; so here are new storms preparing against my brother, clever as he is in warding them off.

[February 10.] A courtier of the cabinets tells me that Mme. de Pompadour is more mistress than ever, with all authority; he says that if in the days of the cardinal some means could be found of getting information and advice to the king, to-day it is absolutely impossible to do so, because the Pompadour is mistress of every valet; they all tremble before her or else they are paid, — so complete is the power of the Pâris money, favours, cajolery, etc.; the obsession is terrible!

[February 18.] The Duc d'Orléans is now wholly left to himself; he has quarrelled with his mother, his son, his daughter-in-law and the Princesse de Conti. He is first prince of the blood, and heir to the throne after the dauphin, who as yet has no children; he is devout, studious, strong in mind, no matter what people say (though not a mind for

great public affairs), naturally courageous, given to certain oddities resulting from retirement; with it all, the vivacity and limitations of genius. Such is the man, who now stands alone, without advice, in the midst of the great patrimonial interests of his great House. The Princesse de Conti is seeking means to obtain a commission upon him to declare him insane. What traps! how will he resist them, — especially as he does from faith many things that injure his reputation for decency and wisdom with the world; such, for instance, as never going to see the king?

I have noticed how the friends of Mme. de Pompadour endeavour to decry the Duc d'Orléans; they echo the cry of insanity against him, though his conduct shows he is quite otherwise; he arranges his affairs, he economizes; and meanwhile the Duc de Chartres plays comedy with the duchess before all Paris, which rushes to see them indifferently. After the play two tables of fifty covers each are spread; and all this is done without money, but with the choicest and almost regal magnificence. Which is best, — the wisdom of the Duc de Chartres, or his father's insanity, so-called?

The Marquise de Pompadour sells everything, even to regiments. The king drops more and more into the ease of letting himself be governed by that woman and those whose flattering but not estimable qualities seduce him; which is not for the good of the State. They have just printed a most ridiculous programme for the "Theatre of the little apartments" of his Majesty, with miserable, flattering lyrics; on them one reads the names of dancers and singers, general officers and buffoons, great ladies of the Court and actresses. The fact is the king spends his whole time nowadays watching the theatricals of the marquise and other Court personages trained by professional actors, who behave famil-

ially with the monarch in a sacrilegious and impious manner. A Court lady, who had just come from Versailles told me what here follows.

In the first place, amazing and alarming things about the king's character. It was said of him in his youth that he was a parrot; but then he only repeated words, facts, and statements in the very language in which he had heard them. Now, they say, it is another thing: he has made for himself a jargon of sentiments, a jargon of political arguments which he composes to his fancy out of the various opinions that he hears from others, without any common-sense or feeling, and even without understanding them. They compare him to nuns who talk Latin and pray to God in Latin without understanding a single word of it. Hence he does the most contradictory things. It is the same in public business; he jargons with one minister in one way, and with another in another way, according as the fancy takes him.

[March 4.] I went yesterday to Versailles, where I was very well received by the king, who asked me many questions at his *lever*, and called me back three times, which was much commented on by the watchful courtiers.

My brother is again attacked by the Pâris, the Maréchal de Saxe, and Mme. de Pompadour, and always on the ground of wasting the funds, and the expenses of the war; which are too great, it is true, especially as the conquered Low Countries bring little to the king, though they are squeezed and tyrannized over. People throw, and justly, three-quarters of the blame on the Maréchal de Saxe and Löwendahl, who are great plunderers, and who recommend employés with an authority which is tyrannous exaction.

M. de Puitsieux seemed to me much changed, with an exhaustion that threatens him; they say he is bewildered,

and has only a few phrases which he repeats, as much to foreigners as to courtiers; the bag is empty. As for Maréchal de Noailles, he was going about Versailles like a madman, stamping his feet and blustering. It is seen now that everything is failing more and more, for want of a plan and principles, M. de Puitsieux having had no ideas since he is in the ministry but those suggested by MM. Duverney and Saint-Séverin, two brains as hot as they are narrow.

One of the ministers told me that there has been of late much talk at Versailles in comparing my ministry with that which has succeeded it; and that every one pleaded my cause loudly; I saw this myself by the way in which I was received and in the manner with which some persons spoke to me. But I own with pain that, in the midst of it all, they said great harm of the king; they asked: "What can be done beneath a master *who neither thinks nor feels?*"

I found the Marquise de Pompadour extremely changed; she was at mass in the chapel, her hair dressed for the evening, with a haggard and most unhealthy look; she can never bear up under the life she leads; late hours, incessant occupation, theatricals, thinking perpetually of how to amuse the king, all the while occupied with public affairs and in the midst of a whirlpool of company.

There is much talk to-day of the tragic death of the Comte de Coigny, found strangled in his post-chaise by the string of its window; the chaise having been overturned at night on the road between Paris and Versailles.¹ This is the shortening of the finest career to be run in France. He was brought up with the king and was his lasting favourite;

¹ He was really killed in a duel on that road March 4, 1748, by the Prince de Dombes, eldest son of the Duc du Maine, to whom he said at the King's card-table: "A legitimate child could not be better provided for than you are." D'Argenson's version appears to be that which was given out at Court. — FR. ED.



Armand du Plessis DUC DE RICHELIEU
Maréchal de France
1706 - 1788

he was the only honourable man in the king's intimacy; of ordinary mind, but gentle, natural, civil to every one, rich, the chief lieutenant-general at forty-two years of age, a *cordon bleu* and general of dragoons, awaiting the duchy of his father; a man of fine presence, with many love-affairs, but adored by his wife, leaving pretty children, and a most charmingly united family. O Providence, thou art sweet to believe in, but difficult to divine!

The idea of Providence is pleasing; its hopes and its consolations are sweet to the unhappy, but its decrees are impenetrable. Yet the justice of God ought to be as perfect as the mechanism with which he has created and is creating his creatures: Providence therefore, ought to be just in all things. The believer, the Christian who sees rewards and penalties in another life combines easily the happiness of the wicked and the unhappiness of the good in this world with the justice of Providence. But the philosopher in whose eyes death annihilates all has great difficulty in reconciling events so contrary to the justice of God. Nevertheless, there is no lack of answers, even in the creed of the annihilation of souls — punishment in the posterity of the wicked; their consciences racked; privation of the joys of conscience; acute diseases; a thousand other woes of this earth, and the contrary to good men.

[May 31.] Considering the reign of Louis XV. only for the time that he himself has governed, that is, since the death of Cardinal de Fleury, I find but five persons who have served him well, to wit: two good financiers and three spend-thrifts of money. Boullongne and Pâris-Montmartel, united in friendship, men of ordinary mind, but well trained and consummate in their business, have caused order to reign in the royal treasury in a manner that was hitherto unknown, and they have sustained the public credit better than ever before.

The two controllers-general, Orry and Machault, in vain endeavoured to attribute to themselves the merit of this work; it was plainly seen that M. Orry's coarseness and limitations and M. Machault's nonchalance and incapacity did nothing for the finances; but that all was well done, and that the credit of the English has paled before ours.

My brother, the Maréchal de Belleisle, and M. Pâris-Duverney did a great work in directing the war, in negotiating with the powers, and in providing rations and forage — though at what frightful expense, what lavish cost of money, and what profusion! All is easy when you can exact and obtain from industrials the needful money. I add to these the Maréchal de Saxe, who always insisted on having formidable armies, and who pillaged much. They attained their object; they weakened the enemy; they damaged the grandeur of the House of Austria by many diminutions. Peace came at last. We now lack only skilful economists to give back solidity to the kingdom. Let the king see *en grand*, let him make good choice, let him put the poultice to the boil, and his reign will be glorious. I repeat: he needs to-day economists of rank.

[July 3.] Prince Edward is still here;¹ he often appears at the Opera and stakes his all at play. Also he amuses himself by making love. Mme. de Guémenée took forcible possession of him; they quarrelled after a ludicrous scene. He lives with the Princesse de Talmond [a Polish princess forty years old]; he shows fury and stubbornness in everything. He wanted to imitate Charles XII. and sustain a siege in his own house as Charles XII. did at Bender, but Mme. de Talmond dissuaded him. It is thought that a retreat will be arranged for him in Switzerland.

¹ Prince Charles Edward Stuart, the Young Pretender; d'Argenson calls him throughout Prince Edward. — Tr.

[August 30.] The displacement of the Marquise de Pompadour is said to be certain; matters are taking the same turn as before the dismissal of Mme. de Mailly — marked sulks, harshness tempered by affected softness. At the last trip to Choisy, the marquise played the invalid and stayed in bed instead of coming down to the assembly-room. The king ordered his surgeon, La Martinière, to go and see what the matter was and “to tell him no lies.” The surgeon brought word that she was really indisposed. The monarch asked, “Has she fever?” “No, sire.” “Very good, then tell her to come down.” And she came down. But here is something serious. The king is in love with the Princesse de Robecq, daughter of M. de Luxembourg. Before starting for Choisy his Majesty asked the queen to make the princess lady of the palace on the first opportunity. The queen reflected, and then answered that she would do so. But it was noticed that the king blushed like a child and turned crimson as he made the request.

[October 3.] M. de Puysieux having gone some time ago to inform Prince Edward that the king wished him to withdraw from France [in consequence of the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle], and that a retreat had been prepared for him at Fribourg in Switzerland, the prince replied, haughtily, that he could not imagine how the secretary of State could announce it to him, nor that a great king like his Very Christian Majesty should seek to send him away after the agreements he had signed with him, and the manner in which he, Prince Edward, had behaved in Scotland and in England. On which, the prince hired another house in Paris and shows no intention to depart.¹

[October 8.] M. de Bernage, provost of the merchants,

¹ France had proposed to establish the prince at Fribourg, with the title of Prince of Wales, a company of Guards, and a pension. — FR. ED.

told me the following, yesterday, about the projected buildings of which there is great question. This magistrate seems to me a man of very serious caution, intimidated by the powers at Court, for the following reason: the Prince de Conti has set this scheme in motion in order to sell his hôtel de Conti at a good price to the city of Paris — the price asked is not told. The king has ordered the provost of the merchants to have the land measured and estimated and to make a plan; this he has done; but his plan only opens the square as far as the rue Guénégaud; the Prince de Conti has made another which extends the square [*place*] to the rue Dauphine, and consequently, it will cost much more and be of greater beauty. The Hôtel-de-Ville [the municipality] is afraid of being run into debt and swamped; it wants to get out of the scrape by turning over to the department of the king's buildings all these grand projects for a great public square, together with the indemnities which must be paid to private persons, and the building up of the place.

It is true that the Hôtel-de-Ville of Paris made the Place Vendôme; the king furnished the ground on a quit-claim and well cleared; the hôtel de Vendôme, belonging to the king, having occupied the greater part of it. The city of Paris then built at its own cost the façades and sold them with plenty of land to private persons, who built the great houses we now see there.

Two squares [*places*] are now wanted: one for the statue of Louis XV., another for a new Hôtel-de-Ville, which ought to be near the river. M. de Bernage, who seemed to me last autumn to be much inclined to throw the Hôtel-de-Ville into magnificent outlays, in order to obtain a fine building, now backs out in consequence of the difficulties he meets with at Court. He has merely shown the king a proposal of the

City Council to ask permission to found an equestrian statue, which has been granted. The model was made by Girardon, and he is to take it to Fontainebleau. M. de Tournhem has called in consultation all the architects of Paris, and particularly the academicians, as much for the choice of the ground as for the buildings to be placed thereon. I have seen the plans of several architects of my acquaintance.

Some are for the esplanade in front of the swinging-bridge of the Tuileries, some for the ground of the hôtel de Conti, others for the farther end of the Pont-Neuf in order to bring out the beautiful façade of the old Louvre, which is now almost sunk in the ground; others again are for the end of the rue de Tournon opposite to the Luxembourg, for the fair-ground of Saint-Germain, for the hôtel de Soissons (now being pulled down and the land for sale), and finally for the square of the Opera-house, taking in the land as far as the rue Contrescarpe.¹

As for me, if I were prime-minister, I would take nearly all these sites and begin the execution of these plans, leaving to Louis XV.'s successors the completion of them, just as Saint Peter's at Rome was left under fifteen pontificates. I should end by completing the easiest, which is that of the bridge of the Tuileries; omitting none but that of the square of the Opera-house, which becomes useless if that of the rue de Tournon is made; and I should leave the space clear for statues of Louis XVI. and Louis XVII. So then, I am in favour of the square of the Tuileries bridge [*Pont tournant*], of which I have given a sketch, for Louis XV.; the square of the old Louvre for the Hôtel-de-Ville; that of the hôtel de Conti, void of statue, that of the rue de Tournon, *id.*, that of the hôtel de Soissons, *id.*;

¹ All these plans can still be seen in the Cabinet of engravings in the Bibliothèque Nationale. — FR. ED.

and for the dwellings of citizens which I should then pull down, I would give, as indemnity, permission to rebuild in the suburbs.

I receive word from Lunéville that the King of Poland, Duc de Lorraine, has invited the Marquise du Châtelet and her M. Voltaire to perform their Easter devotions; here, say some, is a good work done!

The gazettes announce that formal peace is on the point of being signed by the three integral parties who first signed the preliminaries, so that the other powers, such as the Courts of Vienna and Madrid, will be only acceding parties.

[October 22.] A man in office tells me that it is the most amazing thing in the world, the discredit into which our finances have fallen suddenly within a month; that money is lacking in the royal treasury, and that nothing is being paid out; that the advance-pay of the soldiers of the French guard is two weeks behind time and the captains are clubbing together to pay it; that Bouret, supposed to be so clever in provisioning the starving provinces, is only a giddy-pate who does not know what he is about. He also tells me that the farmers-general had advanced the king eighteen millions solely for wheat, without having succeeded, as we have seen, in bringing back abundance, or even the slightest ease, to the hapless provinces; he says that every one fears the state of things; that public opinion is making terrible way in France; that the people are, moreover, frightened at the rumour of the king's expenditure, especially in building, and at the uncertainty of where we shall be led by this blind confidence in a mistress who decides everything and is trying to change half the farmers-general by substituting creatures of her own; and finally, that the contractors and purveyors, to whom large sums are due, are crying out on all sides and falling on the royal treasury,

having received payment on account only during the war; all of which causes the purse-strings to draw tighter than ever.

Much is being said on the death of M. Dufort, director of posts, and as to who will be likely to succeed him. It is thought that the king will in this way show only too plainly the sort of administration the post now is. People say its function is to know what is said in letters, whether to foreign countries or within the kingdom; this is what a man of intelligence was telling me yesterday, saying that he himself had never been in the secret of this, while I assured him that letters were certainly unsealed; he added that the king was more inquisitive than any one, and was very fond of such detection of secrets.

[November 3.] A man is expected to arrive here early in January who has just been made a marshal of France, M. de Richelieu; it will be his year as first gentleman of the Bedchamber. The whole courtier party dread his arrival; and, truly, he is capable of hitting hard from the shoulder for the glory and safety of the kingdom, and to drive out a low-born tyrannical mistress by giving another in her place. I hear from Fontainebleau that the king is showing marked kindness to my brother, with solicitude for his gout, sending every day for news of him, that notes are trotting continually between them, that the minister succeeds in carrying points in sickness better than in health; that Mme. de Pompadour lowers her flag before enterprises intrusted wholly to the minister, and that my brother has obtained the directorship of posts for Du Pare, over little Ferrand, Mme. de Pompadour's cousin, for whom she wanted it.

To understand this favour, we must picture to ourselves the character of the king such as it really is: gentle, naturally inclined to think right, but very lazy in thinking and

reflecting; everything that escapes his first glance never comes to him afterwards, even superficially; liking men of intellect more from the distinction of so doing than from discernment or inclination, obstinate and haughty as princes are trained to be, his firmness degenerating into wilfulness; a creature of habit through sloth of innovation, and not from repugnance to change.

Hence it happens that my brother, man of the world, shrewd and quick observer of the characters of men in view of his own interests, passing for a man of intellect by showing brilliancy that supposes the solid rather than the profound, comprehending easily, seizing to his own use the ideas of others, concealing cleverly his ignorance and his negligence, going to the essential thing, namely, that which makes himself apparent, that which pleases the master rather than that which is useful to him, careful of all that will make his pliancy and gentleness visible, trained to the talk and language of the great world, adroit in hiding vices of the heart, hatred, vengeance, self-interest, — in short, a perfect courtier if ever there was one; hence it happens, I say, that following the character and conduct of Cardinal de Fleury, who trained him, and by whom he has taken pattern to govern his master, he has made the king believe that he alone is his friend at Court.

. . . has spoken to my brother of the high position in the world that the office of Chancellor of France would give him. To which he replied that he should take good care not to exchange the ministry of war for that position, for it was a very different thing to have his antechamber filled with marshals and generals from seeing it filled with provincial judges; that he knew legislation; there was nothing to change in that in these days, or very little; in a word, it was an office for dotage, though, to be sure, at the rate his gout

was taking him, he might be fit for nothing else before long. It was then said to him, "But suppose you were to keep both offices?" He answered that that was another thing; but, on the other hand, his strength would not enable him to attend to so much business.

II.

1748—1749.

[NOVEMBER 16, 1748.] The king has sent the Duc de Gesvres, first gentleman of the Bedchamber, to Prince Edward to order him to leave the kingdom; the prince replied that he could not do so, having a treaty with the king, duly signed by his Majesty. It is thought that they are only playing a farce.

[November 18.] The course they are taking with Prince Edward is this: They had requested his father, James III. King of England so-called, to order his son, Prince Edward, to go to him at Rome; in which case the king would not be causing the execution of his own orders, as a sovereign driving another sovereign from his States and employing force if necessary to the violent execution of those orders, but this force would be supporting the orders of a father if the son disobeyed him; and the king would lend himself, but only as a good neighbour, to the wishes of a disobeyed father. Then, these orders having been intimated by the father and disobeyed by the son, the king would intimate them once more, and if they were still disregarded, would have the prince taken warm from his bed by mousquetaires, who (receiving perhaps a few pistol-shots) would carry him off in a travelling-carriage to Toulon, and there embark him in a vessel for Civita-Vecchia, where a like guard of the pope would receive him and take him to Rome bound hand and foot.

What has previously been announced, namely, that the people of Fribourg had refused, through the intrigues of Berne and England, admission to Prince Edward, is false; the magistrates held firm and made the people hear reason. But it was necessary to make the prince himself agree to the proposal, which was very favourable to him. This, however, is what no one can persuade him to do. The Princesse de Talmond has taken possession of his mind and governs him with folly and fury, though there is not even common-sense in the objects proposed by either of them; an unruly spirit, misplaced haughtiness, and that is all.

[November 21.] The great affair of the day and the most astounding is that of Prince Edward and his firm resistance to leaving France. He says in so many words that he will never leave it alive; he threatens to kill, and to kill himself if they force him to it; and truly, this is what we have most to fear; very cruel things will be said of our Very Christian king, if this brave prince were to perish from despair. He continues to assert that he has letters from the king and the ministers signifying that he need never expect to have to leave France, and that he has the royal word for it.

Now, no one knows of these letters, and he does not show them.¹ I am certain that the king never, to my knowledge, wrote to him; and that I myself never wrote to him, on account of etiquette; and I am informed that the king does not remember ever writing to him. Recently, M. de Gesvres has shown him a letter, written wholly by the king's own hand, in which his Majesty signifies his intention that the prince shall leave the kingdom. It is thought, however, that M. de Maurepas may have said otherwise to him at one time;

¹ It seems, however, from certain instructions of M. de Maurepas, that there was a letter from the king to the Pretender, about which great precautions were taken to keep it secret and, if need be, to disavow it. See *History of Charles-Edward*, by A. Pinchot, vol. ii. pp. 56 and 407. — FR. ED

for he tried to curry favour with the king and destroy in his mind what I deserved to have won by my affection, and what my brother also deserved from his Majesty.

The Maréchal de Saxe has asked the king for the gift and sovereignty of the island of Madagascar, to people it with German families whom he knows to be poor and who would gladly settle there; but he asked for too many advances; and, above all, for vessels belonging to the Company of the Indies. He is therefore reduced to the island of Tobago, in America, of which we no longer make any use, and it has been granted to him as a dependent sovereignty, tributary to our crown.

[November 24.] There is more talk than ever about Prince Edward, and the trouble he is giving the king to make him leave the kingdom. He persists in his refusal to go, and shows himself at the theatres more bravely than ever. M. de Gesvres having spoken to him of armed force being employed to take him, the prince, driven to extremities, said he would kill himself; to which M. de Gesvres answered: "You must love the reigning King of England, to give him that pleasure."

Mme. de Talmond, hearing it said that she was blamed for Prince Edward's resistance, has closed her doors to him and will not see him; for there was really a question of exiling the lady. It is true, nevertheless, that from her came the first advice to hold firm and not leave the kingdom; since then, seeing that the blame is falling on her, she tells him the contrary; but it is too late; the Briton's head is in flames. He still boasts that he has letters from the king; letters which promise, he says, in the king's own handwriting, that he will never abandon him, written in order to encourage him to the Scottish enterprise.

I remember, in fact, that when I took to the king at

Oudenarde the news of the first successes of the invasion of Scotland his Majesty did not seem as much surprised as he ought to have been at that bold and lucky action. I saw, too, by other signs, that M. de Maurepas had had part in sundry secret councils relating to Scotland, such as sending it a million, which was lost just before the unfortunate defeat at Culloden. Cardinal de Tencin boasted of having encouraged that first Scottish enterprise; and it may well be that M. de Maurepas (who was never anything but a heedless and very presumptuous feather-head) induced the king to write eternal promises in some letter, which would date about the time of the enterprise and the embarkation in March, 1744, which the Maréchal de Saxe was to have commanded; but that is not of my time.

[November 26.] They say now that Prince Edward's retirement is being arranged, and that he agrees to live in the canton of Fribourg at the king's wish. Perhaps he will get something out of it, some useful favour; but they will always be much obliged to him for consenting.

Mme. de Talmond has played the chief part in this affair. The king was displeased, and it was even a question of exiling her. M. de Talmond complained bitterly of Prince Edward, who came every day to his house and walked about his garden and under his windows, though he had never invited him. He asked no better than to take sides against him, and he now ordered his porter not to allow the prince to enter. Prince Edward came, as usual, at two o'clock; the porter told him that no one was at home; the prince became furious and said they were at home.

Mme. de Talmond went to sup with the queen [her cousin]; explanations; said her husband was master, and that if the king himself wanted to enter against his will she should obey her husband in preference to his Majesty.

Prince Edward returned to the house the next day at eleven o'clock in the morning; he wanted to break in the door. Lord Bulkley was there; he got into the prince's carriage and persuaded him to desist from such violence at the house of a great noble; even if it had been against the house of a simple citizen it would not have been allowed. However, last evening he was at the Opera in the king's box, with a numerous suite; and there were also present (no doubt expressly) a great number of English Jacobites, who rose when he entered and did not sit down until he was seated.

Though they say his departure is certain, all this makes a scandal of open disobedience in the midst of the capitol; but a more serious result is the loss of reputation to the prince as to prudence and decent manners. Mme. de Talmond said to him: "I believe you want to make me the second volume of Mme. de Montbazou whom you dishonoured with your two pistol-shots."

On the other hand, the shrewdest politicians aver that this is the true line of conduct Prince Edward ought to follow; he shows the English nation that he is stubborn, amorous, in no sense devout; that he leaves France after quarrelling with its government, and having no ground for gratitude; so that if he mounts the British throne he will forever remember that he was driven out of France in shame, having got but little from her. This was the case with Charles II., who was not recalled to England until France had driven him out and he was a wanderer in the Low Countries; but Charles II. was flaccid, instead of which Prince Edward is brave and firm.

We were counting up yesterday eight buildings, country-houses, mansions, châteaux, or kiosks, on which they are at work for the Marquise de Pompadour. She seeks to amuse

herself the best she can; having exhausted her taste for theatricals she thinks to divert herself with the details of building, which our monarch is so fond of; she has now adopted that taste herself.

[November 29.] Yesterday there was a grand review of Hulans on the plain of Sablons; all Paris wanted to see it, in spite of a thick fog which gave bad colds to many of the bourgeois. The king was there two hours. They brought the French and the Swiss guards to prevent the populace from crowding and hindering the evolution of the so-called foreign troops; for the Maréchal de Saxe, who was, so to speak, the undertaker of this affair, slipped in more Flemings than Hulans—they give him six hundred thousand *livres* a year for that.

[December 1.] *Contieure omnes* on the affair of Prince Edward and how he will be got out of France. M. de Gesvres went to him again two days since by order of the king, and told him he would be made to go. Prince Edward received him bravely, his hand on the hilt of his sword, and told him he would not go. The Duc de Gesvres found his antechamber full of guns, sabres, and machinery, as if prepared for a long siege.

He usually goes to the theatres, and to mass at the Feuillants; but for two days he has not appeared; they say he will not leave his house again. Yesterday a horse-patrol was seen about the house. They say that M. de Jumilhac and his mousquetaires are ordered to make the assault, and that the affair will take place to-night; it is certain that it cannot be long delayed. The worst of it is that the prince certainly has letters from the king inviting him to come to France and there undertake the expedition of March, 1744, and that these letters do promise to support him always. He can show our advances to him, and the little value of

good faith in France; also that we only used him as a cup-and-ball, a toy, with which to insult England. That will put us in bad odour throughout Europe. He thinks he holds us by these weapons.

[December 3.] The prince has not hidden himself, and has not been arrested. Yesterday, the day on which there is always most company at the Théâtre-Français, he was in the first box with a great suite; he found himself directly opposite to two English lords, who were much astonished. Every one rose at his entrance, which is the manner of treating princes of the blood.

In case he is forced at last to withdraw, he has prepared a manifesto in which will be printed the king's letters containing the promise, they say, to always support him; he will expose the treachery of our ministers towards him, especially that of M. de Maurepas and the Comte d'Argenson.

The public has conceived two sentiments on all this: one is admiration and esteem for the prince which verges on affection, and would make it look with an angry eye on any violence that might be done to him; the other is a sense of the authority of the king being violated in every way. Here is a foreigner who cannot be made to leave Paris, no matter what order, what threat the king has given him for the last two months; a disobedience that would not be allowed by the pettiest of sovereigns, and which is setting a very bad example. These orders must be executed now or never. The Dutch gazettes are saying everything and will say more.

The prince declared from the first that he was something other than his father and his grandfather; that they retired from France on evidence that the Peace of Utrecht would draw this country from great embarrassment; but the last peace, that of Aix-la-Chapelle, was gratuitous and quite

voluntary on our part, and that therefore he should not withdraw in the same manner; nor would he be made the plaything of our ministers' bad faith, who want to set him up and take him down like a scarecrow.

[December 7.] At last the courier of King James III. has arrived and has seen his son Prince Edward. He orders him as his king, and begs him as his father to leave France, where it is no longer proper, the king says, that he should reside. So all is making ready for the departure of this prince so beloved of the fair sex, considered as very valorous, but of an antique valour accompanied by great ignorance, consequently of few ideas, little mind, and little conversation. They say he starts to-night.

[December 9.] Prince Edward was to have started last night for Fribourg. The king gave him exactly three times twenty-four hours to get out of Paris, and fourteen days to leave the kingdom. All the principal Jacobites attached to the prince took leave of him and retired into the country, not willing, they say, to fall into the crime of disobedience to their king. Prince Edward was in the Tuileries on Saturday; I do not know the news of him as late as last night. The canton of Fribourg has written to tell him it is very glad to receive him, that it will do itself the honour to guard him better than elsewhere; it gives him a company of soldiers, and will allow him to raise as many men as he likes, etc.

Madame the Infanta [eldest twin daughter of Louis XV.] started from Madrid on the 26th of November and was to arrive at Bayonne by the 13th of this month, thence to Versailles I don't know on what day. This journey is to cost one million two hundred thousand francs more than if she had merely crossed Languedoc and Provence, or had gone from Barcelona to Genoa as she would naturally have done.

These little effusions and sentiments of the heart ruin the State indiscreetly at a time when it is already very poor. *Delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi.*

M. Malhan de Noue, minister of France to the Diet of Ratisbon is here, and tells me that the king is playing a much greater rôle at the Diet than any one imagines; that we have many partisans, and that we absolutely must control the suffrage of Bavaria and that of its House, which can be done by means of money. I see, from what he tells me, that French policy will henceforth consist in pouring much money into Germany, which never was the case before and will surely ruin France. The laziness and weakness of our political directors leads to this. Always spending, always borrowing, keeping up the credit of our loans, making the art of credit glitter; such is the talent of the MM. Pâris, and this is what governs the kingdom to-day; it was not so in the days of Henri IV. and Sully.

La Noue tells me that the Queen of Hungary [Maria Theresa] has great defects of character; that she is a very bad economist, and is carried away, passionately, by a number of unreasonable resolves; that she likes to give fêtes to her favourites of both sexes, and spends injudiciously upon them the money of the English subsidies, whereat the English grumble. On the other hand the Emperor [Francis I.] is very economical and a good manager; his household is paid and he has money to spare. La Noue says this Emperor is better than people think, and his wife the Queen of Hungary not so good; that we shall feel this more as time goes on; that the disorder in Hungary, and the evil of the queen having sold privileges will be felt on the first appeals for money; that the English subsidies are about to end; that in that way alone the King of Prussia will escape Austrian policy and recover Silesia; that the Queen of Hungary's

generals are very discontented, not being paid, or very ill paid: the officers the same, and yet, nevertheless, there was *veritable love* in the way all Germany had served her in this war.

[December 11.] Prince Edward was arrested last night as he was entering the Opera-house. A man who was present related the facts to me: He got out of his carriage at the cul-de-sac of the Opera; instantly they closed the barrier upon him; three men of his suite were thus parted from him and were sent to the Bastille. As for the prince, a sergeant of the Guards seized him from behind and held his two arms; he tried to draw his sword but they prevented it. They took him to the farther end of the cul-de-sac, through a door which leads into the courtyard of the Palais-Royal kitchens; there, a carriage with six horses was waiting to take him to Vincennes. The Duc de Biron was in the second courtyard through which the prince passed, to escort him to Vincennes, where, I believe, he is to keep company with him and be answerable for his person. They found upon the prince two pistols, each for two shots, and a dagger; so it seems that they searched his person.

The sequel is still uncertain. Will the prince be kept at Vincennes until his father, now in Rome, can be heard from? that is one way of prolonging his stay in France. They will treat him no doubt as a prince at Vincennes; he will be in the château, where he will want for nothing; but they fear he may attempt his life.

What does he want? What do we want? His unruliness, people say, has been pushed too far; it is nothing but bluster; it is his disobedience to his own king and father that is thus punished. Besides which, he annoys our king much, and renounces in this way all hope of assistance from France. Perhaps, as some persons say, that is good policy;

he wins the hearts of England, he proves himself a resolute Englishman; he is not taken in by French succour that would only make him ridiculous, as his father and grandfather have been all their lives; he will be seen to advantage at Fribourg, where he will marry; and then, if assisted by us, he will get the good of our succour and not the bad.

[December 12.] Further details of the arrest of Prince Edward are known. I have just seen the original order of M. de Maurepas to the governor of the Palais-Royal. . . . But, horrors of horrors! this is what I have heard during dinner. The order was given to *pinion* the prince by his legs and arms, and this was done! Vaudreuil, major of the Guards pretends to have done what he could to misinterpret the order, but found it was absolute and allowed of no escape. A judge of the Châtelet tells me that they never pinion any but murderers. It was done with silk cords kept ready in the pockets of the police. In the kitchen courtyard they took away his sword and searched him by order of the king; on him certain papers were found which he had permission to throw in the fire; it was then that they pinioned him with silk ropes and those who were in the courtyard saw him get into a hired carriage, or rather be hoisted in, head first, like a corpse; he was pale with anger and amazement.

While they were searching and binding him he said to Vaudreuil, "My dear monsieur, you are performing a vile office." Vaudreuil said, "The king has ordered me to do it." He afterwards said, on the way to Vincennes: "France promised me an asylum; as for me, if a morsel of ground remained to me I would share it with a friend." He also said: "*I am not so wicked [méchant] as they think me.* Is this the land of courtesy? I should not be treated thus in Morocco; I had a better opinion of the French nation."

This *pinioning* will remain an everlasting stain upon France; it will put us on a line with Cromwell; he decapitated a king, and we have uselessly pinioned the legitimate and presumptive heir to that throne. More than this: he had been useful to us; we owe him a powerful diversion which won us Brussels. They say he will be kept at Vincennes until the return of the courier despatched by our Court to King James III. and that probably he will then be sent, still pinioned, to Rome. Some persons think King James will consider the proceeding too violent and resent the affront. . . . But if King James should quarrel with us his poor Irish nation must withdraw from France; adieu to the succour it gets out of us! and where will all the Jacobites take refuge! These are strange shackles, but courage and honour can surmount all. Have the consequences been foreseen? Here is a case on which to hold one's tongue to the end of the chapter, as on the saddest of events which can bear no eloquence but that of silence.

[December 13.] The dauphin burst into tears when they told him of the imprisonment of Prince Edward. The ministers deny the pinioning; but it will be asseverated by him and by his friends and also by documents which we shall see.

The prince is in the *donjon* or tower of Vincennes, kept in sight night and day by two officers of the French Garde. Brave, headstrong, firm, Prince Edward had two blemishes — his religion and his Gallicism; the latter is now taken out of him; the former may be washed away by marrying a Protestant princess, keeping far from Rome and his father's counsels, and showing a great toleration which still preserves Catholicism in the depths of his conscience; this the pope may permit as he did with Charles II. and even James II. until within a short time of his dethronement. The prince

is showing himself a man of courage at Vincennes: he is gay, as they tell me the Great Condé was when imprisoned in the same place, and playing at battledore and shuttlecock. He jokes with the officers who guard him day and night, and has requested that they be not changed; he asks them news of the Opera, and how Jéliotte sings.

M. de Puysieux is much discredited by this arrest of Prince Edward. The king said on Tuesday at his *lever* that he was much grieved at having been forced to such extremities.

[December 17.] Prince Edward started from Vincennes Sunday morning after hearing mass. He gave his word that he would go at once to the frontier of the kingdom; it is not yet known in Paris to what frontier. His servants joined him at Fontainebleau; he was accompanied by only M. de Pérussis, officer of mousquetaires, as far as Fontainebleau; I do not know whether that officer accompanied him to the frontier, which seems probable. Some say he has gone to Avignon, others that he means to profit by the asylum offered to him at Fribourg. If he has gone to Fribourg, and if he has written to the king, as they say he has, a letter of submission and asking for his friendship, we must suppose that he has hitherto had some counsellor near him who inspired his past obstinacy; if so, he is fortunate in having that advice no longer, and his imprisonment has done good in making him docile, though it is not to the advantage of that character of great firmness which pleases the English so much; the adviser may have been Mme. de Talmond.

That lady has given great displeasure; they wished to give her a *lettre de cachet* and exile her to Lorraine, but M. de Maurepas, who is a friend of hers, represented that she was the queen's cousin, and that to exile her because of gallantry would be blasting to her reputation. They told

her husband to make her leave Paris; but the poor husband has less authority than a valet, and the lady has determined to remain here, with all the firmness that Prince Edward showed about it.

It is sad to see our government of to-day doing none but shameful and blamable things. It seems a return to the reign of Henri III., except that one mistress rules and not several minions. The Marquise de Pompadour governs the State despotically; she wishes to change the whole ministry; she herself being the prime-minister. It is she who has dismissed M. Orry; but my brother succeeded in making her appoint M. de Machault as his successor in place of the *Sieur Boullongne*; she caused me to be dismissed to fill my place by M. de Puyieux, her little creature; and she has just had the Comte de Saint-Séverin made minister of State; he took his seat yesterday. They are working now to turn out M. de Machault, and the manœuvres they employ are horrible; they are making the royal treasury lack money, so that nothing can be paid out to the treasurers; everything is unpaid, even to the ready money for the king's household; in this way, they will soon force the finance minister to renounce such a business, in which he can find no expedient, for they supply him with nothing and know how to thwart him in all directions.

It is not to-day only that it has been proved how dangerous it is to leave the whole credit, the whole money of the State in the hands of one man, as they are now in those of M. *Pâris-Montmartel*, and to let that one man be so rich. All that we now see done by an effeminate ministry can only be the work of a woman, and if we examine the matter carefully we are brought back to this: it is the *Sieurs Pâris* who are governing the State by her hand, and who intend to govern it still further.

There is no hope to-day but in the arrival of M. de Richelieu, who comes back covered with glory and with a reputation for *prudence*, a quality he was never yet thought to possess. They are hurrying to do certain things before his arrival against which he would certainly make an outcry if he were here.

He will have no other means of proceeding than by giving the king another mistress in the place of the Pompadour — of whom his Majesty is weary. Some other beauty, well chosen, gentle, and in no way attached to the Pâris, this is what might succeed, *contraria contrariis curantur*. Let her have a fine bust, fine arms, well set-up; let her be a brunette, in better health, not given to music and theatricals, and not meddlesome in affairs of the State; this would please, and have the greatest effect on public matters.

M. de Richelieu, as a third, will share in all the affairs of State and discuss them intelligently; he will have some outside help to furnish him with ideas. His first object certainly will be to get himself appointed minister of State, for he believes he is called to the rôle of his uncle, Cardinal Richelieu; he will keep in his own hands the province of Foreign Affairs, for which he thinks himself qualified, though it is the most difficult of all for him.

[December 19.] Prince Edward has fallen ill with fever at the tavern of the Poste at Fontainebleau; they tell me that he is constantly crying out, "Paris or Paradise!" Will our ministry let him die without succour in that miserable hole?

The Pâris are aiming to govern the State wholly through the finances, and the finances by loans; in other words, by the ruin of the State, banishing economy and advising outlay. I found this myself during the two years of my ministry; they were constantly blaming me for sparing the money

of the treasury in my negotiations, and advising me to greater expenditures, being always ready to send huge sums into foreign countries, on which they gained a profit; they led the other ministers in the same way, who yielded willingly. They behave like the steward of some great ruined noble, who advances money on the estates of his master until they belong to him.

It is singular that the sole resource of the State to-day should be in the return of the Maréchal Duc de Richelieu, in his integrity and his love for the country as a good citizen. Who would have thought it from what was seen of him in his youth, and until he commanded in Genoa?

[December 21.] News has come from London as to how the arrest, imprisonment, and pinioning of Prince Edward has been taken. There is much excitement, which the gazettes relate. All the English Jacobites are full of joy that the prince has quarrelled with France, and so irrevocably; the government has been unable to check their joy; the populace stop carriages in the street and oblige their occupants to drink to the health of the brave Prince Edward, the enemy of France. This will go through all the provinces of the three kingdoms, and it is thought that in Scotland and Ireland the effect will be another thing. The prince left Fontainebleau yesterday with some remains of his fever.

[December 24.] The tragedy of "Catilina" by Crébillon has had a very medium approval from the public; *Solve senescentem*, etc. *Parturiunt montes, nascitur ridiculus mus*. But Mme. de Pompadour gives great protection to the play, though she cannot render it more successful in this disdainful age. It deserves great success and to rise in greatness before the public after the first cabals, for and against, are over. There is, however, certain excess in it, namely: in

the merit and the grandeur of soul which Crébillon gives to a man more known for his crimes than for his glory. Falsity, lies, and craftiness are in all his actions. He is, after all, nothing more than an illustrious scoundrel.

The Duc de Richelieu arrived at Versailles yesterday morning; this has made, they say, a great commotion at Court; they are all awaiting events. He comes resplendent with glory; fresh and composed; the courtiers are pouring incense on him.

[December 28.] The Maréchal de Richelieu is striving to have himself made prime-minister; he has a quantity of good reasons to adduce; for instance, his knowledge of many things about the results of the peace in Italy. But Saint Séverin can say the same about the Low Countries, and Maréchal de Belleisle also; and what hinders the Maréchal de Saxe from making the same thrust, having, as he has, the mistress and the Pâris for him?

It was only too well foreseen that the cabinets of pleasure would sooner or later become the senate of the nation, the lady's chambers appointing the ministers of State. All careers are open now to the recommendation of the mistress. A great promotion of three hundred and eleven general officers has just been made, nearly all of whom are the selection of this lady. It is now a question of soon renewing the leases of the farmers-general, and of the sub-farms. The mistress has declared that she wishes twelve farmers-general of her own making, and two hundred new sub-farmers; she has a cabinet all full of petitions for these places; everybody now addresses her openly. The other day there were persons standing and waiting the hour of her toilet at the foot of her little staircase, while two of the Pâris brothers were with her discussing the affairs of the State.

[December 30.] The king was violently angry against the authors of the order to arrest Prince Edward, compel him to surrender his sword, and pinion him, which was done; they say it all falls on the Duc de Biron, who did not previously stand too well at Court.

The Marquise de Pompadour, who has the superintendence of the theatres, has just ruled that we are to have no music at the Opera but that of Rameau for the next two years, no matter what dissatisfaction the public shows at this. So they have returned to the shelves the opera of "Medea" already learned and rehearsed. Farewell to good taste and to good French music!

[January 3, 1749.] The Maréchal Duc de Richelieu was very well received by the king on the evening of his arrival. His Majesty shut himself up with him until two hours after midnight. A great procession follows him at Versailles when he passes, and a huge audience appears in the morning when he rises. The king takes much to his counsels. God grant that he obtain from him, or others, the means of getting out of his present embarrassments which are driving the kingdom to destruction!—for to-day are seen around his Majesty none but jugglers, rogues, deluders, Fagotins; it is worse than under Henri III.

I have just been appointed by the king president of the Academy of Belles-lettres. I was much surprised on receiving a letter from M. de Maurepas, saying: "Monsieur, the king has appointed you," etc. I shall put under my portrait this year a parody of the inscription under that of the late M. Dufay, which was: *Me læsit Mavors, læsum mulsêre eamænæ*. I shall say: *Me frans expulsi* [sic] *expulsum mulsêre camænæ*.¹

¹ These quotations, of which we have corrected the orthography, prove that d'Argenson was not very strong in his Latin or its quantities. — FR. ED.

[January 6.] There is great talk of a pamphlet which has just appeared, entitled "The Five Sores of France, to wit: the bull Unigenitus, the Convulsions, the system of Law, the ministry of Cardinal de Fleury, the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle."

M. d'Étioles, husband of Mme. de Pompadour, keeps a handsome woman of Moulins, named Mme. de Belnaux, and he has given her more than one hundred thousand crowns' worth of diamonds; the State pays for them.

[January 7.] The following is what appears on the conduct and the progress of the Maréchal de Richelieu:—

It has been predicted to him several times that he will be prime-minister like his great-uncle; he is going thither with great strides. He is intimately allied with the Maréchal de Belleisle; it is said that he is about to marry his daughter to the Duc de Vernon, son of the maréchal. They both pretend that they do not wish to enter the Council, but they each wish it. M. de Richelieu has begun by attaching to him all the ministers with departments, — namely, those of war, navy, and finance; and even the chancellor. They all look upon him as their avenger. They hope that he will deliver them from the yoke of the MM. Pâris, the mistress and her minions, MM. de Puysieux, and Saint-Séverin; they all cling to him.

M. de Maurepas obtains for him the good-will of the royal family, wife and children, which he controls. These persons are thinking only of the expulsion of the present mistress, not considering who may succeed her; nor how it is brought about. The king says the most gracious things to him. For instance, he remarked the other day: "The dauphine will certainly give birth to a son, for this is M. de Richelieu's year, and he is lucky."

The king is very caressing to his daughter the infanta,

and the whole Court follows in imitation of his Majesty. She is fresh and very tall in comparison with her sisters, who are not so. She is very badly off for clothes, and even for linen; they say that her wardrobe has not been renewed since she left France. Her chevalier of honour is a horrid toad, very dirty.

They are forming a household for Madame Henriette, which is to be on a great footing, with kitchens, stables, guards, etc.; it will cost the State 800,000 *livres*. The Comtesse d'Estrades has already been appointed lady-in-waiting and is now on service. They are going to appoint the maids of honour, which makes marriages, and other great officers of the household.

The journey of the infanta, coming and going and her stay, will cost about 1,200,000 *livres*; these are expensive paternal tendernesses to the French people, now succumbing under poverty.

[January 19.] I went yesterday to Versailles and heard many things about Court intrigues.

M. de Richelieu is too attached to the trifling affairs of the theatre, the ballets, etc.; his affairs are beginning to go ill. They say he is behaving like a fool; he has declared too openly against the mistress, and she is beginning once more to get the upper hand. People regard her as stronger in governing the king than the late Cardinal de Fleury; sorrow to him who dares to butt against her! She joins pleasure to decision, and support as a principal minister to the habit she acquires more and more over a gentle, tender king. But alas for the State which is governed by such a woman! There is outcry on all sides; but it is kicking against the pricks to rebel in any way against her. M. de Richelieu is beginning to find this out. He ought to abandon these petty squabbles about ballets, and take up greater things,

more essential, more virtuous. It would have been enough for him not to go to these theatricals, and to absent himself haughtily if his office of gentleman of the Bedchamber was affronted; as it is, he gets the worst of it at every step. The good friends of those who are looking out for advancement advise them openly to follow Mme. de Pompadour; "homage must be paid to her," they say.

The king asked M. de Richelieu the other day, at his unbooting, how many times he had been sent to the Bastille. "Three times," replied the maréchal. On which, the king discussed the three causes. The question is thought of evil augury.

News has come of a triple alliance signed at the North (that is to say, for the affairs of the North), between Prussia, Austria, and England; it is, says the treaty, to maintain the peace of the North; but I should like to ask against what war if not one that this triple alliance will produce, by attacking the succession in Sweden and increasing their three tyrannies? But see the cleverness of our ministry; on the morrow of a generous and stupid peace like ours at Aix-la-Chapelle, our reconciled enemies are leaguering against us!

Yesterday I saw M. Chauvelin, formerly Keeper of the Seals; he is a man who was driven from the ministry by the late cardinal for having displeased the House of Austria during the war of 1734.

[January 23.] The Jacobite party is bestirring itself to be reconciled with the government of France; but it thinks that Mme. de Pompadour and M. de Puyseux must first be removed; it therefore attaches itself to M. de Richelieu. They say it is this party who composes the songs and squibs against the powers at Court. I heard two of their ladies to-day boasting of the favour of the public and vomiting fire and flame against the ministry, especially against M. de

Puysieux. They told me that a courier had started for Rome to oblige the pope to send Prince Edward from Avignon, inasmuch as we had agreed with King George not to allow him on this side of the Alps; which goes far beyond the treaty of London of 1719, in which the regent only promised his good offices to induce the Pretender to cross the Alps.

Mme. de Mezières says frankly that Prince Edward, being abandoned by France, has no other course to take than to declare himself Protestant and marry as soon as possible some good and worthy Protestant princess of Germany, a younger daughter without a sou. The question is, where will he take refuge if driven from Avignon? for he will not go to Fribourg, where he would be too much exposed to the ill-will of the French ministry, not being able, he says, to trust it. Probably he will find some little German sovereignty, Protestant, where he will be safe.

[January 25.] There is much talk of sending away from Paris all the English and the Jacobites who have no business here, and of making an example of the most outspoken; to whom are attributed verses against the government, which appear constantly and wound the king very much. If the ministry takes this course of expulsion, proscription, against these poor furious, discontented, Jacobite people, they may secure some safety but they will have given a terrible exhibition of fear; which is even more dangerous because it discredits the government. The Jacobite party is, however, very strong in France, especially in Paris. It is composed not only of British national Catholics, but of all the discontented; and these latter are recruited both from those who have personal subjects of complaint and those who criticise the government with more or less equity. The fermentation is increasing.

[February 2.] The Duchesse d'Orléans, widow of the regent, died last night. It is being bruited about that the Duc d'Orléans did a hundred extravagant things, although he showed himself very little before others on this occasion. It is a trick of the hôtel de Conti and the Duchesse de Chartres to make this public; they covet possession of the property of the pious prince.

[February 12.] They are trying to prepare the people to rejoice a little more at the publication of the general peace;¹ with this object criers are going about the streets, reading aloud the edicts for the suppression of various little taxes, such as those on wax, copper, paper, pasteboard, candles, etc. These amount to some millions in all. This shows that the ministry does listen to the people, fear them, and want to propitiate them; but the king is so ill-advised they will not be governed any the better for that.

Peace is proclaimed to-day in abominable weather, snow, fog, frost. The people have shown only consternation during the ceremony; the *feu de joie* is postponed until I don't know what day; but the *Te Deum* will be sung to-morrow. The reduction of a few taxes will not have much effect; the principal ones, those they ought to have reduced first, are on butter and eggs. They say that these taxes have brought in four millions during the two years they have been levied, but that it cost five millions to levy them — a million lost!

[February 14.] The king has just given a pension of 200,000 *livres* to Madame Infanta, to put her more at her ease at the court she is about to hold in Parma, where it is thought she will not be very happy because her husband is not rich enough or powerful enough to run into debt like the great monarchs.

¹ The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, which ended the war of the Austrian succession, was signed October 18, 1748; from the above it appears not to have been publicly announced in France till February, 1749. — TR.



Madame Henriette

His Majesty has also given a pension of 24,000 *livres* to M. de Puy sieux for his life and that of his wife. He discovered that Louis XIV. gave M. de Torcy 600,000 *livres* at the peace of 1713, by which we kept Spain and saved France; the proof of this was found in the *Chambre des Comptes*. The king having just gained 350,000 *livres* a year by the death of the old Duchesse d'Orléans they have proved to him that he can very well detach these 240,000 *livres* for pensions. As for the Parma pension, the princess was already well-dowered; we spent much upon her marriage, and still more for its political results. What sums that unfortunate establishment has cost us in the three little duchies! and now, for her pocket-money, we are about to send annually 200,000 *livres* out of the kingdom, never to return!

[February 16.] There has been a great killing of people on the quay Pelletier on the occasion of the fireworks for the peace; two hundred persons killed or wounded; there were fourteen bodies at the Morgue. No joy among the people, no cries of "Vive le roi." They attribute all evils, all fatalities to the faults of the government; even this accident is attributed to the magistracy, to the want of order and precaution; and, in truth, why did it happen at this time rather than at other times? The populace does not fail to give ear to superstition and omens, like pagans. They say: "What is the prospect of such a peace celebrated by such horrors?" The disaster has been much greater than was told at first, for a number of persons were flung by the pressure of the crowd over the parapet of the quay Pelletier and drowned.

[February 19.] It is known only too well by intelligent persons that all is in great fermentation among the people of France, that discontent is rising to a high degree, and that great contempt for the government is added to it. The

person of the king is still loved; but all those about him, without exception, obscure and enfold him in a black cloud. The taxes exasperate the people, living is dear, receipts are few; they must spend without receiving; the odious reign of the financiers alarms the public and degrades the government; there is not a bourgeois here who does not shout against the peace, declaring that we have given up everything to the enemy, and seeing in it only evil without good. All things are taken ill; even the late diminution of taxes is thought so paltry that it shocked rather than pleased. They talk incessantly of the mistress for whom so many buildings, journeys, gifts, expenditures are made. They read the gazettes; they see that our policy in other countries is ill-managed and that we shall soon have either shame or war, and they want neither.

[February 22.] The Duc de Richelieu haranguing the king at the head of the French Academy stopped short. They say that often happens to him when he harangues the State assembly at Montpellier, having too many things in his imagination to make use of his memory or his presence of mind; happily, the Abbé d'Olivet prompted him at the end of a few moments.

It is noticed that the king is falling into extreme melancholy; they amuse him as much as they can, then he falls back into gloom, and they see the gnawing worm. He sees, he feels the misery of his people, and how bad selections on all sides have brought upon him bad ministers, bad intendants, bad generals. Favouritism, parentage, influence, recommendations have done all, have distorted everything.

The verses that are going the rounds about Mme. de Pompadour, which the king has seen, and in which she is treated as a "low woman" coming from nothing, were probably ordered by the ministry and have had a terrible effect

against her. Nevertheless, beware of a "day of the dupes;" luck may change, and the three mischievous ministers may have to go and make room for others; the little cabinets are sure to carry the day in the end. The ministers have laid themselves open to too much against them, their armour is pierced, the king supports them more from patience than esteem; my brother especially has been attacked with fatal truths.

M. Berryer, lieutenant of police, passing, a few days ago, through the gallery at Versailles, was assailed by several of the dandies of the little cabinets, who asked him when he meant to put a stop to the horrible songs and verses which were going the rounds about the king, saying that the late M. d'Argenson knew Paris so well when *he* was lieutenant of police that he would soon have dug out of the lowest pit the fabricators of such things. M. Berryer replied: "I know Paris as well as it can be known, but I do not know Versailles." On which they eclipsed themselves.

People ask what is the cause of the king's melancholy; the triumvirate answer that his tears are those of Titus compelling himself to quit Berenice; the triumvirate are showing him by these songs and satires that he dishonours himself, that his people despise him, that foreigners vilify him. An engraving has lately appeared in which the king, held in chains by Mme. de Pompadour and M. de Puyseux, is being flogged by foreigners.

But, good God! what sort of teacher is this triumvirate? a trio of corrupt courtiers, and precisely such as President Montesquieu has depicted in his "*Esprit des Lois*." However, they push with all their strength against the Pompadour, and they will be satisfied if they bring the king to dismiss her. M. de Maurepas interests the queen and dauphin in this attack, on which he plumes both himself and

his associates. They are now at the songs, which wound the king mortally. On one side they show him that by keeping his mistress he increases the discontent of the people; that the peace, which is the work of the little cabinets, is held in horror by the said people; that if he dismisses the ministers opposed to the Pompadour, he will seem to sacrifice them to the sultana,—all the more because the two elder of the triumvirate have charmed certain eyes by manners such as those of Alcibiades and Julius Cæsar.

On the other hand, by dismissing the mistress, he is losing the Sieurs Pâris, M. de Puyieux, and M. de Saint-Séverin, who would be forced to retire with her, having no longer any influence and becoming the butt of everybody. In this way the king thinks he loses his private council; he distrusts the ministers, of whose perfidy he is well aware, being well informed of it by the mistress and the cabinets, who are giving mortal blows continually to the confidence they are trying to inspire. Yes, the king regards all three of them as his greatest enemies and as the most dishonest men in the kingdom. Here, then, is his dilemma; here is the secret of the monarch's distress.

There might be one expedient to remedy all this; namely, to raise the marquise to a higher rank, give her a more decent apartment than the one she now has, not to see her except with the same dignity with which Louis XIV. saw Mme. de Montespan, and, above all, not to communicate to her any of the affairs of the State. In this way, by raising her rank he would diminish her influence, now so justly odious, on public matters.

If the king were well advised, he would substitute for this power of the marquise, the cabinets, and the ministers, a prime-minister who would render him better service; and certainly the true game would be to send the triumvirate away

at once, and even to exile them to their estates. M. le Nain should replace M. de Maurepas; M. de Sérilly the Comte d'Argenson; and M. de Montmartel, M. de Machault. M. de Puitsieux might remain a little longer in office, then his office should be united to that of the prime-minister; and the latter should have his survivance of the ministry of Foreign Affairs.

There is a man dismissed from his ministry in whom nothing was found but good work, principles followed strenuously, virtue recognized, love for the public welfare; a man whom both parties must have eulogized equally from what they have since seen and criticised in the work of his successor, and from the conduct he has followed in private life. It may be a question, under the clash of the two parties, of this man for the office of prime-minister. He would be found without assumption as without ambition, seeking only to draw the glory of all upon the king. He would re-establish order and economy. Retrenchments are necessary; without them the kingdom is ruined. Will the triumvirate apply that remedy? No, it will increase the evil.

[March 1.] Songs, verses, satirical pictures rain against the person of the king. There is a prophecy in verse which is awful; it predicts that he will have no posterity, that his subjects will revolt, and declares that when they gave him their love they did not know his vices. The picture represents the king as bound, pinioned, and being flogged by the Queen of Hungary, while England says, "Strike hard!" and Holland says, holding a money-bag, "He sells everything." It is called the picture of the Four Nations.

There is talk of an incident which happened Sunday. The architect of the country-house which Mme. de Pompadour is building at Meudon, at the king's expense, went to M. de Machault, controller-general, and showed him that he needed at least 200,000 francs for the week's expenses, hav-

ing five hundred workmen on his hands unpaid. M. de Machault told him that he had orders signed by the king for 800,000 francs more than there was in the royal treasury. He took him with him to the king, and having stated the case to his Majesty and asked him which of the preceding payments ordered by him should be transferred to the architect (showing him a letter from Mme. de Pompadour), the king turned on his heel and went away. People ask whether that is good or bad, for the mistress or the minister.

[March 3.] The king is resolved to finish the Old Louvre, and they are beginning the work upon it; he intends to spend an annual sum for this which will be considerable. The Academies will be placed there, the Arts, the king's Library, and a fine gallery to exhibit the king's pictures which are now in the dust. The palace will be isolated — what a number of streets, squares, houses to buy and pay damages for! Also there will be many pensions to pay to favoured persons who will be dispossessed of their lodgings in the Louvre. What expenses! and how little money we have to spend! What delirium has seized upon our hapless government? The royal Library was already well placed in the hôtel de Nevers, rue de Richelieu, on which much money had been spent; why remove it? But that is the manner to-day of royal building; make, unmake, and leave it.

They were counting yesterday that the king has at present nine different habitations to which he moves his residence in the course of a single year; with him goes the Court; and what does not that cost? The proper thing would be for our kings to live in Paris, and not sleep away from it, except to go with small suites to hunting-boxes or houses of pleasure. Safety is in economy, evil is in the oriental regal extravagance introduced by Louis XIV. and continued in a restless variable private manner to-day.

[March 12.] The news is that Prince Edward, who had furnished magnificently his palace at Avignon, was going to a ball, when he received a letter from his father and the pope telling him that he must leave Avignon. He started instantly with two persons, and no one knows where he has gone; people are much troubled; some think he has taken refuge in Scotland or Ireland. He left Avignon February 25, during the night.

[March 15.] Two ladies, great friends of the Maréchal de Richelieu, were talking before me and several others of his influence, as if not doubting that he would carry everything before him. Whoso boasts much has little. I hear at Court that his influence lessens daily in great as well as in small things; Mme. de Pompadour leaves him only so much as she chooses to prevent him from becoming her open enemy; yet the ladies I mentioned said, "His marquise needs him."

How ill the king is served in all this! how much he needs a friend! M. de Puysieux is more with him than ever; he gives advice to Mme. de Pompadour and told her the other day that she meddled in too many things and received too many petitions. She does, in fact, more business, and has more authority than ever Cardinal de Fleury had. She besets the king continually; she shakes him up, she agitates him, she never leaves him a moment to himself. Formerly, he used to work for some hours in his cabinet; now, she does not leave him one quarter of an hour alone. She says this is for the good of his health, and to distract him from melancholy thoughts; but it is much more to keep him from all idea of changing his ministry and attending to the government himself; in this she does the greatest harm that can be done to a kingdom.

They have just doubled the workmen employed on the

new Château de Meudon; there are now fifteen hundred at work there; they are re-stocking the menagerie; all expensive occupations which distract the king from useful and serious work. The ministers, and all others, are forbidden to speak to him of vexing things — there are plenty of such topics.

III.

1749.

THEY are playing in the cabinet theatre at Versailles the comedy of "The Prince de Noisy," with lavish expense in the decorations; nothing is too costly. Mme. de Pompadour plays a rôle (that of the Prince) of such immense length that they say she spits blood. What prodigious labour is hers!—to govern the kingdom, the king, to be equal to intrigues, memorials, petitions, to learn long rôles, play them, sup, hunt, etc.

The king, they say, is tortured with remorse; the songs and satires have had this effect upon him. He sees himself hated by his people, he considers that the hand of God is in it,—that God from whom he has received so many benefits. Let no one tell me that "he fears hell" as the only power of religion. No, he fears nothing; people do not know him; but he has a feeling heart; he loves God from gratitude. We shall presently see what will come of it.

For the last two days they have thrown into the *portes-cochères* of Paris printed memorials in which every one is exhorted not to pay the tithe [*dixième*] to the king, because it ought to have been suppressed on the 1st of last January. They quote as to this the words of the declaration made by the king about this tax, in which a formal promise is given not to levy it after the general peace. The paper is very seditious and may have bad results.

[March 20.] We have news that Prince Edward has safely reached Switzerland; but some people think that from

there he will go to Sweden. If he does, God grant that he may pass safely through the German States which are on his way! Some are friendly to him, others inimical. He has a large sum of money in Sweden, more than fifteen thousand florins, which his father ceded to him. They come from a purpose Charles XII. had, shortly before his death, of succouring the Pretender; he obtained that sum from the Jacobite party for the purpose of sending ten thousand men into England; the bankers had just paid it to him when he was killed. Prince Edward will recover this debt on making himself known in Sweden.

He declares that he will never marry unless he is on the throne of England, for he will never beget others as miserable as himself; by this declaration he urges his party all the more to put him on the throne, for fear that their hopes may be forever lost in him; and all England is equally desirous that this antagonism, this rivalry within the House of Stuart shall continue, in order to hold it in check. The great moment will be at the death of the present king, leaving two sons who cannot agree; the right is with the elder; the affection of the father is for the younger; little merit in the elder. If the House of Stuart becomes extinct, the right to the crown of England goes to the House of Savoie through the daughter of Monsieur and Henrietta of England.

[March 21.] The affair of the University of Oxford, of which I have already spoken, is more important than was said at first. It is this University and its connections which instruct the youth of England; it is teaching them principles favourable to the House of Stuart; saying for instance that the dethronement of the father does not carry with it that of the children. The present king has ill-used the University, violated its privileges, caused condemnations of it to be pronounced, not by parliament but by the royal officers, caused

also erasures to be made in registers, coercions, and suspensions of legislation; all this can be compared with the affair of Magdalen College under James II.

So now the University will not remain quiet; it renews its complaints to parliament and redoubles its zeal for the House of Stuart. It has just received a fresh affront from his Britannic Majesty; having gone to congratulate him on the peace, the officers and deputation went up to the ante-chamber, and there the king sent them word that he did not care to see them and they might go; tyranny, it is said, and want of respect for so respectable a body.

[March 25.] Under all the circumstances of this country, urgent within, urgent without, urgent even in the king's domesticity, is it not to be expected that there must soon be a prime-minister? The king will be forced to take one. Two men alone at Court can climb to that position by the tone they have taken with the king, and through their talent in startling and in persuading him; these are my brother and the Duc de Richelieu. If it is the first, we shall see in him a Jesuit, an old fox of a courtier on the throne; with an exterior of mildness he will do the show work of *appearing* without *being*, while below will lie malignities and cruelties. If it is the Maréchal Duc de Richelieu, we shall see boldness, good selections, some heedlessness, rather too many views on a grand scale. He is, however, economical for himself; is it impossible he might be the same for the State when he sees with his own eyes all the horror of the means now employed to wring money for great enterprises?

Knowing the ground, one must believe that the Duc de Richelieu will be the man; my brother is only an adroit sycophant; M. de Richelieu, on the contrary, becomes when he chooses a ruler who stuns, but pleases. He has the tone that Cardinal de Richelieu must have had over Louis XIII.;

and whoso has not that tone over the master will never rule him, but will stumble and fall in trying to do good; that is what happened to me.

It is singular that the said M. de Richelieu should play the rôle of missionary to the king to make him quit his mistress and perform his Easter duties, after having, six years ago, played a very different rôle for the introduction of Mme. de Châteauroux. However, let the evil cease, let the good arrive from any quarter that it may, and it will be well.

[April 25.] I am now in the country; an express arrived last night with a letter telling me that M. de Maurepas was dismissed that morning; that the king's household and the clergy department were given to M. de Saint-Florentin; Paris, the stables, the academies, to my brother; that as for the navy, thus left out, no one as yet knew what would be done with that. Here is a change which must have given many surprises. What castles in the air and projects have been built and destroyed by this event. It will be attributed to female intrigue; for no one ever allows that the king can do an act of virtue, or even of reasonable will. And yet this is one, unless the choice of a successor spoils it; that is something we shall soon know.

[April 26.] They write me from Paris that M. de Maurepas has been exiled to Bourges. That town of Bourges seems to be the useful place of exile for ministers who offend. Some one said in jest the other day that the king ought to buy the house where the Keeper of the Seals Chauvelin lodged, and make it a palace of France, a hôtel for exiles. I am told that the minister has been disgraced for irreverence to the king, and for having been in the secret of those horrible songs and verses against his Majesty.

[April 29.] I have just returned to Paris and learn the

particulars of M. de Maurepas's dismissal. No apparent reason was seen to cause so sudden a dismissal; the war was over, its defects covered up, work on the restoration of the navy was going on, the king had never treated him more kindly. The last time the minister was at the king's *lever* his Majesty listened to his stories and bon-mots and laughed heartily. Suddenly a trip to the little château was proposed; M. de Maurepas said he was going to the wedding of Mlle. de Maupeou, and the king told him to amuse himself much; never was M. de Maurepas gayer or more content. This was Thursday, and he was going to the Opera; he had asked for the new opera, saying that he should not see it at the next Marly. They waited for him till six o'clock, and then a voice cried out from the audience that he was dismissed.

It was true; my brother had gone to him that Thursday, 24th, with a letter in the king's handwriting, written in about these words:—

“I have told you, monsieur, that I would give you notice when your services were no longer necessary to me. I keep my word. Arrange everything to go to Bourges as soon as possible; meanwhile see few of your family. I should have permitted you to go to Pontchartrain if it were not too near Paris and Versailles. Make no answer. LOUIS.”

The cause of this disgrace is believed to be the verses against the king, some of which are attributed to him, and also a rather strong declamation that he made before the Council at Choisy against the expenditures.

Let us agree that the king has two qualities essential to sovereign power: one, dissimulation when he chooses; and he pushes the characteristic very far, as in this case of M. de Maurepas; the other, the delivery of blows of great severity, such as the repression of parliament two years ago,

the imprisonment of Prince Edward, and the exile of M. de Maurepas. With these, authority will be maintained under his reign, but beware lest the ministry abuse it, and the discontent of the people be pushed too far.

It is said that the night after M. de Maurepas's dismissal he went secretly to Versailles and saw the queen; then he took from his desk quantities of secret and important documents fearing lest seals might be affixed to his papers. It is a fact that the king had a long conversation with Père Pêrusseau, his confessor, during the fortnight at Easter, not for the purpose of confession, but on the revolt of the royal family against him. Good father though he is, his Majesty meets only with discontent, and very bad and malicious speeches are reported to him daily against the mistress, whom his children speak of only as *Maman p . . .* The king blames M. de Maurepas for all this, and with reason.

The queen displeased the king extremely when she heard of M. de Maurepas's disgrace; she wept continually for two days, and said to every one she met, pressing their hands: "Are not you very sorry for that poor M. de Maurepas?" The king knew of all that. M. de Maurepas was so shocked, so furious that he could not swallow anything for twenty-four hours; he took only a glass of water, and that he vomited.

[May 14.] Parliamentary affairs about registering the financial edicts are making a great rumpus at Court. I have just received a copy of the points of the proposed remonstrances. They turn upon the reiterated promises of the king to suppress the *dixième* as soon as he laid down arms; the quantity of money and imposts which the king drew from his people during the war; the hope the nation had that after the peace it would be asked for no more assessments to pay the war debts; the preference that ought to be given to the relief of the people, and the propriety of reserv-

ing the new tax imposed by the edict for present necessities, etc. The above are the heads of what the parliamentary commissioners are to enlarge upon, and their paraphrase will be, it is said, bold and strong. Reference will be made to Henri IV. and Sully, to the excessive expenses of the Court, the building extravagance, comparison with England, where out of a sinking fund established in 1714 not a penny of the debts of the State were paid, but the fund was always taken for ordinary expenses; which gives here a fine argument *a fortiori*.

What will come of all this? The king is resolved to hold firm and relax in nothing, but to make the parliament obey without recourse to a *lit de justice*. On the other hand, parliament has before its eyes its honour, the long neglect that has been shown to it, the bad treatment it received in matters relating to the Constitution Unigenitus. It sees itself without influence, having only that of citizens; but the people are for it and the provincial parliaments, who will unite with it and be keener still; in this way it is very strong.

The Duc de Luynes is continuing the Journal of M. Dangeau of all that the king does day by day, which is curious from its flatness and insipidity.

[May 15.] The rumour was public yesterday in the Garden of the Palais Royal that my brother is about to be declared prime-minister; a man of his household told it confidentially to some, and they to others. It is the present condition of affairs with the parliament that will give him this place, the king being much embarrassed with the pitiful ministry he has made for himself. All these parliamentaries are spreading like madmen among the public, crying out, as they do in their assemblies in parliament and in the sessions of the Chambre de Louis, against the abuses of the government;

they are falling into serious conditions and into fanaticism; every one is much alarmed at Court.

I was yesterday at Versailles. My brother has all the air of a prime-minister; when he enters the king's apartment, it should be seen what a swath he cuts through the crowd of courtiers; and seen, too, what an air of business he wears. His friends say he is killing himself for the State; while he keeps repeating: "What a fine start for my new career, — the parliament to subdue!" But how drive that great assembly and the provincial parliaments to vote for taxes. There's the *hic*!

The king asked me at his *lever* if my son had started for Switzerland; I answered in good faith that he had not yet taken leave of his Majesty. The monarch smiled in making the inquiry; we know his usual sly little ways, of which he makes more importance than of real things; so this may mean that he intends to give my son some office here, and that it is already done in his own mind.

The queen is very busy in I don't know what affairs. My brother spends two or three hours with her after each council; he keeps President Hénault lodged near him at Versailles, in a room which adjoins his own, and the president, great friend of the queen, relays him in persuading her of what he wishes; from her he goes to the Marquise de Pompadour; he negotiates, he spies. Oh! great and wretched Court affairs!

The marquise told one of her friends that she repented much for *having allowed* me to be displaced; that she knew she had done harm against the king in so doing, and against the public; that the choice of my successor had produced the worst results in our political situation. Cardinal de Tencin told me I did very wrong not to show myself oftener at Court. The dauphine also spoke to me, asking me vari-

ous questions, with a few obliging reproaches on my showing myself so seldom at Versailles.

[May 19.] Yesterday the remonstrances of parliament were presented thus: the Council of Despatches being assembled, MM. d'Aligre and Molé presented them in writing, after which these delegates retired; but the council continued and lasted some time longer. There is no doubt that the answer will be an order to enregister the edict and a command to make no more remonstrances. The ministers are very keen against parliament,—all the measures for which they had made themselves responsible having failed. Parliament is not less keen, and will play some deviltry, such as giving up its functions, abandoning the administration of justice, or something else even more efficacious, *juris et de jure*. Certainly it has not done so much to retreat now; it sees itself sustained by the public; it sees the new system of reimbursement most unreasonable at the present time; it has firmly fastened upon the argument, “emergency debts [*dettes exigibles*] should be paid by effort; debts not pressing [*non exigibles*] should be paid only by economy.” They say that the king breaks his word; that there are a hundred natural ways of paying the debts, but that, far from economizing, the king is doubling his journeys, dissipations, ridiculous buildings, etc.; another trip to Marly is appointed for the 12th; various others to Crécy, Choisy, and Rambouillet; no retrenchment; even the troops, though much reduced, are costing four millions annually more than they did before the war. Parliament is much excited; its mouth is opened and it speaks; the remonstrances are to be printed, copied, and spread everywhere, put in the gazettes. And to parliament is joined the public, the writers of satires, the people already much alarmed, much roused, and very discontented, the provincial parliaments, etc.

Mem.

Ver. 3—6

[May 20.] Here is the great affair of the parliament suddenly at an end! The Court has the merit of precipitating the affair by rapid blows leaving the astounded parliamentarians no time to reflect or breathe. Sunday the king received the remonstrances; that same evening he answered that he saw nothing in them to change his resolution; and parliament, assembling on Monday, yesterday, decided that the king must be obeyed, because it chose that his reiterated will should stand as a monument to exonerate parliament. The edicts were registered last evening.

The Court regards this as a great stroke and is much satisfied with the chief-president; they say he will be made chancellor of France, and that the order of the Saint-Esprit, vacant by the death of M. Amelot, will be given to him. So he will be a *cordon bleu*.

[May 24.] I was talking yesterday with a man well-informed as to the affairs of England; he added to something of the sort which Lord Lismore had told me the day before that it is not impossible we may hear any day that the English ports are closed and a revolution in progress. Persons begin to think that Prince Edward is actually there in disguise and well hidden. It is certain that since the close of the war he has taken counsel of none but Protestant Jacobites and England; please God they may not be treacherous!

What is certain is that the Hanoverian government has made many malcontents; we see on all sides that it has given cause for this: its avarice; the debts in which it has involved the nation; the deception about the war and about the peace, the cowardice and imbecility of the Prince of Wales; the ferocity of the Duke of Cumberland; all the money that passes over into Holland; the foreign wars in which the nation was involved; the North and Germany ruining England; credit at a discount, the ministers sold,

the parliaments corrupted. Is not this more than enough for the deepest discontent? And if, on the other hand, we consider Prince Edward, we find in him all the higher qualities, and for him public opinion, which may bring about a revolution: brave, firm, handsome, vigorous, noble, disinterested, irrevocably alienated from France, despising Rome, stopped by nothing that belongs to religion, contemptuous of his father, having rid himself of his brother who was a bigot and is now a cardinal, and going to mass in France solely as a species of payment. Finally, he gives himself up to the advice of Englishmen; he does not fear them, he hopes all things from them. His right is good, and it is openly taught at Oxford; his grandfather may well have been dispossessed for infraction of the laws, and for his attachment to Louis XIV. This exclusion may well continue in the person of his father for the same reasons—bigotry and Gallicism; but national decisions cannot deprive this race of its right; the basis of right remains in spite of illegitimate acts, and all acts that exclude the Stuarts are seen to be acts of violence and public tyranny, as they were in the days of Cromwell.

[June 23.] There is great talk about the death of the *Sieur Coffin*, former rector of the University and principal of the College of Beauvais. He died without the sacraments, owing to the schismatic rigour of the Archbishop of Paris, who forbade all confessors (under pain of withdrawing their powers) to absolve any one suspected of anti-bullism [*Unigenitus*] without questioning them on the dogma and without making them retract their appeal. Nevertheless, *M. Coffin* did receive absolution, though no one dares to acknowledge it; they have also endeavoured to prevent his being buried in consecrated ground, which cannot be accomplished without effort and scandal.

The powers of the Fathers of the Oratoire having expired, they had to apply to the archbishop, who has made them accept the Constitution. Père Rénaud, among other famous preachers of the Oratoire, submitted to the yoke and bent the knee to Baal, say the Jansenists, who will henceforth deery him; they say that as he loves his talent as a preacher from purely human views and not heavenly ones, he had better make himself an actor at once.

[June 24.] Prince Edward makes feints and dashes on all sides; he has caused some one who resembles him to appear at Venice, then at Boulogne. His partisans publish these rumours only to let them drop; his movements and his residence are more concealed than ever, so as to keep his party in hope.

Yesterday the funeral of M. Coffin took place. It is the fashion to-day to attend in crowds the burial of celebrated appellants; there were more than ten thousand persons present. The procession had reached the church of St. Étienne-du-Mont while the queue was still at Beauvais; there were scaffoldings at the corners of all the streets. It is thus that the people brave the government and its schismatic persecution.

[July 1.] I was talking yesterday with one of the judges of the Paris parliament about the refusal of sacraments to the last to M. Coffin. He told me that there was much excitement in parliament about that affair; that recourse had been had to the chief-president, M. de Maupeou, who had cleverly avoided making any remonstrance against what had been done by the Archbishop of Paris, M. de Beaumont.

It is agreed that the Court of Peers is playing a vile part in this, very different from what it would have done six years ago. Then the shadow of schism alarmed it and made it thunder. "What!" it cried, "a schism about that

bull Unigenitus!" A refusal of the sacraments to an obscure little woman in Orléans brought the parliament at that time to the greatest severity; to-day, in the capital itself, a man like M. Coffin, a former provost, a learned man, the principal of a college who had brought up the most virtuous youth of Paris, a man honoured by every one, is refused the sacraments in his dying moments before the face of the nation; his confessor dares not admit that he absolved him. Yet we see by his magnificent obsequies and by the multitude who attended them how much he is honoured.

[July 5.] The château built at Meudon is wholly at the *pretended expense* of the Marquise de Pompadour; the receipts are given in her name. M. de Tournehem said the other day that he had nothing to do with it; his niece was paying the costs *out of her savings*. They say that she had a miscarriage in the last Lent and that during that time the king never left her and his affection redoubled, and that since then she is more a favourite than ever, she and hers.

They talk of deciding at Compiègne certain great affairs, such as the triumphal square in which to erect the equestrian statue of Louis XV., and the place for the Hôtel-de-Ville. But what chiefly occupies their minds is the site for a new Opera-house. They say that the king takes it into his service and will contribute to it the 100,000 francs which the queen's band now costs him; that the city will construct the new building and the king will lend them his own scenery, and the stage at Versailles and that of Paris being built exactly alike, the decorations and machinery can be used alternately. These are great projects; but they tend only to bring on a reign of bad taste and the disappearance of the beautiful, the noble, the simple, the magnificent of Sully, and good French harmony.

[July 16.] All the administration of the general hospital

of the Salpêtrière have just given in their resignation. The Archbishop of Paris dismissed the Sister superior of this great hospital on a foolish accusation of Jansenism. To replace her, the prelate selected a devout sister in Paris, who never has had anything to do with the government of establishments. On the other hand, the administrators of the hospital all wished the selection of a sister of the hospital, the best among them, saying that it was right always to appoint *ex gremio capituli*. The archbishop resorted to authority and installed his sister by *lettre de cachet*; whereupon the whole administration resigned together. Great uproar in Paris; they say the archbishop came to his seat like a lamb and behaves like an angry wolf. He has just caused to be arrested seven or eight priests in connection with the affair of the burial of M. Coffin. They talked and acted against the intentions of the government and are put in the Bastille. Forty lawyers have signed a declaration against what the archbishop has done, and against the refusal of the sacraments. These are the cursed results of the bull Unigenitus, which are coming to the surface again since peace has been made.

[July 25.] The stir about the affairs of the Constitution is beginning over again in France. Two declarations of sixty lawyers have appeared, both relating to the refusal of the sacraments to M. Coffin. They prove that the demand for a certificate of confession before administering the eucharist and extreme unction is a great abuse; and they protest against the schism that is being brought about in the capital; all these shafts are directed against the Archbishop of Paris, as well as those relating to the administration of the general hospital. A petition has been presented to parliament, and a day is appointed (Tuesday next) for a hearing; but it is doubted if it actually takes place.

A farmer-general and administrator, who had advanced a large sum to the general hospital, gave it a receipt for 80,000 *livres* still owing to him on resigning his place as administrator; it is not doubted that he will be dismissed from his office of farmer-general. They have arrested quantities of abbés, learned men, and men of letters and put them in the Bastille, among them the *Sieur Diderot*, several professors of the University, doctors of the Sorbonne, etc. They are accused of having written verses against the king, of having recited and spread them about, of having censured the ministry, and of having written and printed things in favour of deism and against morality; to all of which it is desired to set limits, license having become very great.

The King of Sardinia has made his son, the Duc de Savoie, read the "*Esprit des Lois*" of President de Montesquieu twice; and he obliges him to make extracts from it: *loca selecta*.

[August 4.] A horrible poem of two hundred lines has appeared against the king. It begins with, "Awake, manes of Ravallac!" There are other Latin verses, they say, not less cruel, which certain pedants of the University are accused of writing; the *Sieur Cogorne*, or *Begorne* (I forget the name) is said to have cut his throat on being convicted of these horrible things.

Meantime, at Court there is nothing but hunting, laying waste the fields, suppers, trips, changes of lodging, yesterday at the little château, to-night at La Muette, to-morrow at Versailles etc.; in short, twenty trips are planned before they go to Fontainebleau. For some time past the marquise and her confidants keep the king in such a volubility of movement that his Majesty has scarcely an instant for reflection. If by chance he gets a moment of repose, then you will see him pensive, absorbed within himself, plunged in reflection, whether political or religious no one knows.

[August 15.] I went to Versailles this morning, and found the Court fatigued by the king's excursions. The queen, Mesdames, and the dauphine are obliged to rise very early; each of them told me they envied my free and tranquil life, not mingled in any way with the miserable business the ministers are steeped in. The king went to-day to depopulate the plain of Saint-Denis of game and to sleep at La Muette. All this costs immense sums in travel and buildings. The house of the marquise at Meudon has just run up into its sixth million, though it is only nine windows front, after all; but it was necessary to dig a foundation one hundred feet deep to find solid earth.

A general revolt has just taken place at Milan on account of certain new taxes; it could be appeased only by removing the said taxes. Throughout Europe there is now blowing a breath of misery, ruin, taxation, and rebellion, which is felt on all sides: no prince is economical; that is the source of it all.

[August 18.] The Duc d'Orléans no longer writes, nor can he write anything; he does nothing now but read and work at chemistry, which shows the weakening of his brain from gout, and still more by his austerities and an unwholesome system of living; such as eating heavy meats and drinking nothing while at table, but on leaving it swallowing down a quart of water. Certain other vagaries in him prove the same weakening, and the humour of gout and erysipelas that are in his system show approaching dissolution.

The Marquise de Pompadour is changed, and changes daily, so that she is now almost a skeleton. The lower part of her face is yellow and dried up; as for her bust, she has none. Yet the monarch, from habit, treats her carnally better than ever; several courtiers saw him kissing her the other day behind a screen.

The Duc and Duchesse de Chartres are living very unhappily together and talk of a divorce; the duke has started suddenly for the baths of Bourbon without his wife; he never goes near her now; well-founded jealousy, dislike of her talk and her wicked principles — if it can be said that a wicked mind and wicked behaviour have principles.

The man named Diderot, author of the obscene books entitled "*Bijoux Indiscrets*" and "*l'Aveugle clairvoyant*,"¹ has been examined in his prison at Vincennes; he received the magistrate (some say it was the minister himself) with the loftiness of a fanatic. The examiner said to him: "You are insolent, and you will stay here a long time." This Diderot, when arrested, had just finished composing an amazing book against religion, entitled: "*Le Tombeau des préjugés*."

[August 26.] It was suddenly announced yesterday that the Bishop of Rennes was to be elected to the French Academy. M. de Richelieu abruptly put him forward for the place, the bishop being his friend and spy, and the friend of the Duchesse de Brancas; this is declared only three days before the election, which takes place on Thursday. It was in precisely the same manner that M. de Richelieu put forward the Maréchal de Belleisle for the same Academy, which he assumes to govern like his great-uncle the cardinal.

The marquise has made them give the government of the Bastille to her cousin, the Sieur Bayle, which will procure for her all the secrets of that dreadful prison that come to the knowledge of the governor. My brother regards this as wrong done to him, and he will pay her back for it.

The Duc d'Antin, twenty-two years of age, has just been made a brigadier-general; it is supposed that others of the same age will be appointed, which gives the public a low opin-

¹ True title, "*Lettres sur les Aveugles*."—FR. ED.

ion of our wisdom. Money is lacking on all sides and is becoming very scarce. Nothing has been paid to the king's household for two years; everything is due also for the stables and the hunting establishment.

[August 30.] I have received a letter from a relation of mine, who is a major at Louisburg; the evacuation took place at last, July 23. My friend's letter was written on the 28th; he tells me that we are to make a new settlement on St. John's island. So here is an end to vexatious rumours as to the bad faith of the English in keeping their word. God grant it be thus with other fatal rumours.

They say, all of a sudden, that the quintuple alliance is signed and ratified between Vienna, Russia, Denmark, England, and Holland. It can scarcely be doubted that it will aim to recover Silesia from the King of Prussia; as for the government of Sweden, that was never anything but a pretext. What will we oppose to this? They talk of a quadruple alliance on our side, France, Prussia, Sweden, and Saxony, if we could draw that prince from his neutrality and from his affection for England, Russia, and Austria.

Another and more pacific piece of news is that the Hôtel-de-Ville has taken possession of the Opera; the officials with the provost of the merchants at their head were in the king's box in full uniform. They rapidly dispossessed the directors, and sealed up their property; not a hundred *livres* were found in their treasury.

[August 31.] Diderot is released from Vincennes; they have forgiven him his agreeable books, however contrary to morality. He has reappeared among his friends frightened, bewildered, and in himself showing little force of mind, imagination extinct, flashes of ideas easy to put out.

They talk of restoring the marble river of Marly, a cascade very costly to reconstruct, whether for the marble or for

the reservoir. Five wheels of the machine of Marly¹ had been removed in order to destroy it : these must be replaced ; besides which, the low situation of the château makes a stay there extremely unhealthy. This again makes people say : “ Well, well ! doesn't the king know what to do with his money ? ”

[September 3.] We had news yesterday that the king is about to start on a pleasure-party which is still kept secret. The plan is to go from Crécy to Havre and Dieppe to show the sea to the marquise and to eat fresh fish ; a true frolic, they say, which inspires his Majesty with plenty of chatter. Quantities of orders are being given, and it is easy to see what it will cost ; the city of Rouen is preparing lodgings and fêtes, the parliament dissolved is to re-assemble, and M. Rouillé has gone to Havre and Dieppe to see that all is prepared. What will the public say to this pleasure-party in search of indigestions ?

[September 11.] A man in the entire confidence of the House of Stuart, told me the following about Prince Edward :—

He left Avignon only because he wished to do so. All orders and permissions were given to let him stay there tranquil and honoured, but he left it to carry out great designs. After his departure from Avignon he spent thirteen days in Paris. He changed his groom at Lyon, and left the new one with his chaise at Grosbois ; thence he came to Paris on foot ; then he sent his chaise to Commercy, and spent ten days in Lorraine (no doubt for love of Mme. de Talmond) I see a mixture of love and glory in his conduct. From Commercy and its environs he went to Alsace. He was recognized in Strasburg by a groom of the late Cardinal de

¹ See an account of the enormous cost of the “ Machine de Marly ” in Saint-Simon's *Memoirs*, Vol. IV. of these *Historical Memoirs*.—Tr.

Rohan, which warned him to get away quickly lest the man should report him. Thence he went to Dresden, but showed himself to no one; thence to Prussia and Berlin, where he had long and frequent conversations with the King of Prussia, who placed in his hands large sums of money. It should be understood that the King of Prussia detests his uncle the Hanoverian.

They assure me that the prince received both from Prussia and from his party in England more than two millions. From whom did all that money come? and what has he done with it? This is what no one knows. They say that he received by way of Lisbon a very large letter of exchange cut in four parts, each part reaching him by a different route, and it was necessary that all four be put together before the letter could be paid.

Finding soon after that the storm in the North was no longer growling, or else that its activity was suspended, Prince Edward again crossed the frontier into France, stayed a moment in Lorraine, then in Suabia, and on, by way of Tyrol, to Venice; but the republic viewed his coming impatiently, being, as is well known, much attached to Austria. From Venice it is thought he has returned to France. Mme. d'Aiguillon has lately received a letter from him dated only six days earlier, which proves that he must be in France, probably with his friend Mme. de Talmond in Lorraine. But all this gives one reason to fear that on some unhappy day a fanatical Hanoverian partisan may assassinate him at the edge of a wood; no man is always lucky enough to escape such dangers, going about alone as he does through wood-roads and by-ways, by night more than by day. His fatalism is great; he believes himself destined to mount the throne of England; but who knows if that is really written in the book of God's designs?

[September 19.] The king having said to the Archbishop of Rouen that he would stay with him at Gallion on his way to Havre, the prelate contented himself by making his Majesty a low bow. The king said to him a second time: "Do you hear me? I shall go to your house." Another low bow. His Majesty passed on three steps, then, turning round, he said: "No, monsieur, I change my mind; I shall not go to you." The Archbishop of Rouen (Tavannes) is grand-almoner to the queen; he shares the resentment of her Majesty at the king thus parading his mistress and giving her as a sight to the people of Normandy; he fears to be made its abettor, and he evokes his character as a prelate, on which he might not think were it not his policy as officer of the queen; so here is one archbishop who will stand ill with the king.

But why should the queen continue to show such bitterness about the king's amours? Can she still have any pretensions to the heart and bed of her husband? No; it is the petty passion of a woman, a low jealousy, regret of power,—of an influence of which she would make a bad use for those who are attached to her. She inspires the same feelings in the dauphin and the rest of the royal family. It is true as to this particular affair that neither she nor the dauphin have country-houses, whereas the king has many, is always going and coming to them, and has given many such houses and estates to his mistress, while the queen and the dauphin are bored to death at Versailles for ten months of the year; the dauphin has only his ordinary allowance of money, and is often very pinched and unhappy.

The Marquise du Châtelet, one of the wittiest and most learned women of our century, has died in child-birth at Lunéville.

[October 4.] I am just now in Touraine on my estates.

I see nothing but frightful misery; it is no longer a sad sense of poverty, it is despair which now possesses the poor inhabitants; they long only for death, and they avoid giving birth to children. When will such woes end? Our ministers are incapable of making the king reflect on all this; he is kind, but so ill-served!

A zeal for fine roads has taken possession of the ministry and the provincial intendants; the latter no sooner found this career of authority and usefulness open to them than they flung themselves into it headlong. It is a new *taille*-tax, worse than the first, under which the people are crushed. It is reckoned that annually one quarter of the day's work of the labourers goes to these *corvées* [statute and compulsory labour], during which they have to feed themselves, and with what? Their horses, mules, and oxen are also forcibly employed without compensation.

Daily one hears of new and horrible injustices in the provinces. By what my neighbours tell me the diminution of the inhabitants during the last ten years is more than one-third. The great roads made by forced and unpaid labour are the most horrible tax ever yet endured; the labour and subsistence of the men is beyond their power to meet; they are taking refuge in the small towns; there are quantities of villages abandoned wholly by their inhabitants. I have several parishes on my estates where the people owe three years' *taille*-tax. One of my parishes, which was ravaged by hail last summer, looked for some diminution, but instead of that they have this year a salt-tax to boot. Sainte-Maure has been extremely favoured; it is a large place and has done much work on the *corvée*, but it has received 600 *livres* diminution on its *taille*-tax without rhyme or reason, mere unreasonable and cruel caprice.

[October 11.] Yesterday I passed through Tours. They

told me that one-half the trades, especially that of hosiery, were stopped, and those in velvets, damask, and other silk fabrics were being ruined, — the last apparent reason being that silks are plentiful everywhere in Piedmont, Italy, Persia; and this, with the war, has suddenly caused a great reduction in the profits of our manufactures.

I have watched for a long time what the Council proposes to do for Tours, and I have seen that the place is but a skeleton which they decorate and try to set in motion. Commerce, manufactures, the strength of capital are derived from the strength of the province of which this is the metropolis; the sap retreats here in winter; it is like the spirit in the body, the superior part gathers to a centre; but to expect a province destitute of men and money to form a capital rich by commerce, unless it has rich inhabitants, is folly; and that is what they have been trying to do to Tours. It is false that the white mulberries and silk-worms produce great revenues at the present time in the environs of Tours, as I have heard said in the Council. People laughed in my face when I said that at Tours; they assure me that not a hundred pounds of silk are made there annually.

[October 25.] I am now living in a country-house ten leagues from Paris,¹ where the village has only a medium poverty, between the abundance of Paris and the horror which reigns in my own region, Touraine. They wanted to establish here [village of Saint-Sulpice] a proportional *taille*; but it was all injustice; the seigneurs taking advantage of it to diminish their farmers. I expect to remedy that this year by getting myself authorized by the intendant to preside over the *taille*-roll, which will be made by an elector under my own eye. It must be admitted that, from what I have seen and what I have learned daily in this village, the more

¹ Segrèz, Seine-et-Oise. D'Argenson had hired it for his life. — FR. ED.

men in authority meddle in this local work, the worse it is done and the more injustice there is. A work for a village district ought to be the work of the village people, and be merely overlooked by the presidency of persons in authority; otherwise this confusion of functions produces the great vexations we see everywhere. Among these persons in authority it must be admitted that nine-tenths are very unjust and very malicious; revenge, avarice, and vainglory are what, unfortunately, preside to-day over all public works.

[October 26.] I went yesterday to visit a courtier who owns a great château in my neighbourhood. How little merit causes, accompanies, and follows fortune! How many resources are found at Court to gratify the love of luxury! The strange thing is that rich men seek in good faith the useful in ruinous expenditures; a kitchen-garden is constructed at enormous expense for its utility, and every vegetable that costs a sou in the market costs a crown in the garden. They make vast conduits and waterways to get, as they think, ten thousand weight more of hay. The courtier is the same everywhere: prodigal of his own, greedy of that of others. On his estates, instead of protecting the inhabitants, he employs his power to punish unjustly, to revenge himself, or to maintain what is useful to his interests; he wants his tenants prosperous by the oppression of poorer men; he obtains from Court the right to make paved roads, which crush the poorer people by enforced labour and take from them a quantity of land. He is proud and haughty with his neighbours; he thinks himself a king, surrounded by courtiers and vassals; he speaks little, he assumes to utter sentences of weight on the few and commonplace topics which his small pride and his great silliness dictate to him. That is the courtier residing in his château.

We heard yesterday that the Archbishop of Paris has just



L. Ponce Pinax 1748

B. W. S. Sculp.

LE PRINCE CHARLES
EDOUARD STUART.
Né à Rome le 31. Décembre 1720.

lost his great case against the rector of Gentilly. The prelate is condemned to costs, expenses, and damage-interests, which amount to over 25,000 *livres*. The rector had been deprived of the enjoyment of his benefice, to which the archbishop assigned a curate, and it must now be returned; the archbishop's substitute being interdicted. This rector is a worthy man, but he had displeased the archbishop; he has been set upon for various pretended faults, which did not exist and could not, therefore, be proved. The Baron de Baurais, who has a country-house in his parish, sustained him by his influence in parliament and by his money. Parliament is beginning to make no secret of its hatred against this archbishop; hatred roused by his persecutions as to the bull *Unigenitus* and in the affair of the hospital of Bicêtre, about which much has been said. People say he is a feather-head, simple and obstinate; that is to say, a man of small mind and capable of pleasing M. de Mirepoix [minister for church affairs], which he does.

[October 29.] There is a dispute between ourselves and England, touching the boundaries of New York and Canada; we are building a fort on St. John's River, which displeases them; their general has orders to prevent it; both sides say that these orders are wise and there is no intention of quarrelling about them.

[November 4.] I was present at the making-out of the *taille* list in a village on which they levied the proportional *taille* three years ago. I caused the declarations to be renewed, and my presidency made every one declare himself and check or verify the others with great attention and freedom. It is such freedom that produces equity. I was also the cause of the elector who held the pen working with more attention and precision. This tax-method is good and is productive of great benefit when liberty presides; but

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when the commissioner-electors use it to protect out of partiality, when they use it negligently, when they do not do the work in the place itself, when they bring from Paris or some other chief town the richest and most vindictive peasants, when they do not renew the list every year according to the changes that have taken place, then this tarified *taille*-tax is worse than arbitrary; or at least the collectors are confronted by a greater number reproaching them for injustice, a tyrannical government being worse than anarchy.

But I remarked one evil here, which was that the intendant, seeing justice established in this parish by the tarified *taille*, has increased the tax by more than one-third during the three years it has been established. The inhabitants began by telling me it was almost to be wished it had never been established; seeing the injury done to the bulk of the parish, through their declarations making known their property, and the increase of the tax laid upon them. Certainly there is great blame to the government here, and it confirms me in my theory that all the parishes in the kingdom should be made to pay at all times the same assessment of the tax whatever the valuation may be. If that were so, they would, they told me, pay the receiver of taxes punctually every quarter, thus avoiding the costs of the bailiffs, which make a double tax. I asked them all why they did not in any case pay punctually every quarter; to which they replied with one voice, because they knew that if they did, their tax would be doubled next year in consequence of their paying promptly this year.

Two of our poets, Fréron and Marmontel, have been denounced to Maréchal d'Isenghien as about to fight a duel; the maréchal sent them, vulgarly, to the police, which has humiliated all Parnassus; but they will meet later and fight, for both are said to be brave. Marmontel, the author of

tragedies, complains that Fréron, writer of a periodical journal, speaks of him with too much levity in his sheet.

There is much thieving at Fontainebleau in the crowd at the play. Pensions have just been given to artists for services rendered to Mme. de Pompadour: to Tribout, her singing-master 800 *livres* on the royal treasury; 1500 *livres* to Lagarde, her master in composition, who has such a pleasant voice.

[November 21.] For the last week there has been universal and very thick fog, the like of which has been seldom seen.

The Marquise de Pompadour is threatened more than ever with disease of the lungs; yet she is forced to keep up with the king and go about with him who goes so much; they make her drink milk when she is with him in the country; but she has no rest when the king is with her; she must hurry about, and drink and eat. They are preparing some fine ballets and operas for Versailles this winter in which she will sing. Certainly there must be in this beauty some mysterious strength which keeps her fresh and beautiful in the midst of such fatigue and her lungs all gone. In the olden time people would say it was through a talisman, or constellation.

[December 7.] I have been to Court, and I have seen both at Versailles and in Paris various courtiers; and the following is what I have gathered: The Maréchal Duc de Richelieu, in spite of his pretensions to become prime-minister, is losing his influence with the king as well as at Court, and gives much cause for talk against him; they represent him as giddy, hasty, haughty, of great imprudence, and in no way fit for the ministry. He says everywhere that he is going to Languedoc, or to Richelieu for a year; that he is too weary of the Court to return any sooner; to which

people say that whoso quits a game is lost. But for my part I think he will be absent about three months.

The marquise shows herself profound and discreet; she does and says what she chooses without much intelligence; she perseveres in her hatreds and in her affections; she turns a good face to those whom she has to be careful of; such as M. de Richelieu, M. de Machault, and my brother; but who knows what she says against them when alone with the king? I am assured that her conduct towards the Court is based on my brother's advice; he himself tells me the contrary, and says that when they are together she has nothing to say to him, and he is very careful not to give her the slightest opening of which she might make a bad use with the king.

My brother says: "Alas! we do not work at all; we ministers are forced to take too many things upon us; and nothing annoys me so much; consequently this dispersal over various matters stops real work on any, and what the public says about this is true."

He admits that his health is very bad; he has a leg subject to ankylosis; his last attack turned his foot and the leg is shrinking; he has indigestions without knowing why; his body is worn-out by dint of hard work and close confinement; besides which, he cannot restrain himself in eating.

The Court seems odious, contemptible in the matter of torture and injustice to all who live there. M. Rouillé told me that the life he led was killing him. People hate one another, and wear each other out; they think me very fortunate to be as I am.

The Duchesse de Chartres is announced as being pregnant for two months. The Duc de Chartres continues to squander his property and pays no one; at the head of that house there are none but sly and double-faced persons, who know

well how to run with the hare and hold with the hounds, but do not do their true duty. The Duc de Chartres is surrounded by miserable popinjays who lead him into all the extravagances of libertinism; they keep him running night after night from haunt to haunt in the houses of courtesans, wine, and debauchery; by day it is hunting and coursing at Villers-Cotterets and other country-houses; he is never in bed till morning; he sleeps badly and heats his blood.

[December 26.] The Prince de Condé has the small-pox; they have bled him in the foot to keep the humour from the head; it will be a great misfortune if he dies.

[December 27.] The young Prince de Condé is much worse; he is convinced that he will die. Having gone to see the king on the morning of the day he was taken ill, he wore the mourning he had just put on for his grandfather, the Duke of Hesse-Rothembourg. The king spoke to him of his black coat; he replied, "These are my grave-clothes, for I shall die soon." Let us hope he may come safely through his illness; if he dies, it may be said that the Royal House is perishing more and more; in each branch there are now but single heads, and they are not increasing, but perishing.¹

¹ He lived to build the Palais-Bourbon, and command the army of the émigrés during the Revolution. He was the son of M. le Duc, was born in 1736, and was thirteen years old when he made this gloomy and mistaken prediction. He was the grandfather of the murdered Duc d'Eng-hien, and died in 1818; having witnessed the last of the Monarchy, the Revolution, the Empire, and the Restoration. — TR.

IV.

1750.

[JANUARY 7.] The Duchesse de Boufflers having written to Voltaire requesting him not to be in such a hurry to have his "Électre" played at the Comédie Française, but to wait till the tragedy of "Aristomène" could be played some time longer, for the sake of its author, Voltaire merely replied: "Électre is not written with an H, madame;" for she had spelt it so; an impertinent answer.

The Pretender and his son, Cardinal York, have just escaped being carried off by Barbary corsairs; what a fine present that would have been for England! but their valets sufficed to put the pirates to flight.

[January 10.] I was at Court this morning; the king has a cold as well as myself; the hunt was countermanded in consequence. What an amount lost in a day which might be filled by so many occupations if he would only think of them! What childishness! what caresses without object and without affection! Two things alone occupy the royal attention, — the spying of letters which are opened in the post, and the spying of Paris; this is what gives my brother to-day such an air of favour.

A lady in the suite of Mesdames de France whom I saw yesterday told me several particulars about Madame the Infanta. She says she has never seen a princess who had more desire to play a part and become an able woman. She occupies herself much and seriously; she is little amused here by concerts or the queen's circle; she makes her curt-

sey, and then goes away and shuts herself up for three or four hours to write; she sends for the ministers, and she follows the king about like the most ardent courtier. He has long conversations with her; she piques herself on loving him very much, and he loves her, recognizing in her the only one of his children who shows intelligence; though the others may have it sufficiently, but without showing it.¹

So she has won much upon the king during this visit to France. His affection has risen to the point of wishing to do everything to make her happy and better married than she is. They tell me if we have a war, *quod Deus avertat!* it will be to improve her position in Italy; at any rate they will send her money in gifts and subsidies; the king knows that the Infant Don Philip is a *mauvais sujet* and of no capacity; but as for the rest, this visit of Madame to so grand and beautiful a Court as ours will make her much more unhappy in the little one where she is now to reside.

[January 20.] The Duc de Richelieu has departed for his government of Languedoc, and announces that he intends to reside for a long time there or at his château of Richelieu. He does not actually sulk, but he is not pleased with what he has seen, nor with all that he cannot prevent, or make others do. He restrains himself little in speech; he is displeased, especially, at my brother's favour, which he declares increases the king's weaknesses instead of lessening them. It is very certain that MM. de Belleisle and de Richelieu will not be made ministers at the first vacancy.

¹ Louise-Élisabeth, eldest daughter of Louis XV.; married to the Infant Don Philip, younger son of Philip V. of Spain, and Duke of Parma. Her letters to her husband have been published; they are shrewd, natural, and very loving. They conclude in such terms as these: "I love you as no one else ever loved, and I kiss you a million times." At the same time they are the letters of an able woman dictating his proper course to an incompetent husband. ("Une Fille de France" by L. de Beauriez. Perrin et Cie., Paris, 1887.) — Tr.

Mme. de Mailly, the former mistress, is dying of an abscess which has broken inwardly.

The Academy of Belles Lettres is much occupied with the medallie history of the king. Yesterday they brought to my brother the report of the committee relating to the new medals, requesting that it be proposed to the king to have them struck retrospectively, that is to say, as if at the dates of the events they commemorate. Thirty-five new medals are proposed. This being debated and argued with my brother, he asked for them *ad referendum*, saying that the king would reflect upon the matter himself, and he would give him the memorial to read and consider for a week.

[January 25.] I dined yesterday in company with Lord Bath, formerly Mr. Pulteney, a famous member of parliament and celebrated speaker of the Opposition, who several times compelled the two Hanoverian kings and their prime-minister, Robert Walpole, to buckle down. I found him a tranquil orator rather than a vehement one. In truth, it is by such tranquillity in argument that men persuade, and not by force of imagination, or lungs, or gestures. He spoke with contempt of the two Britannico-Hanoverian kings, especially the last. They say of the latter that he works much, but Pulteney says he does nothing but finger papers; reads many despatches and memoranda, but neither reasons nor decides, having little mind or principles.

Pulteney talked finance with much knowledge and clearness, but he did not offer decided opinions on what he told us, contenting himself with clearly explaining, and relating the facts with accuracy. It may be that he is less *au fait* to the affairs of his country than he has been, or depressed, feeling some remorse for having abandoned his party in the House of Commons to be made a peer of Great Britain; moreover,

he is getting old and he eats much; he is sixty-four years of age and monstrously stout.

A lady of the queen's palace tells me that the queen, her mistress, is more feeble and shrunk than ever; that my brother is to-day her great favourite, and she lets him persuade her as he likes; consequently, he is perpetually negotiating between the king, the queen, the marquise, and the children of France. It appears that in a late dispute concerning the apartment of the Comtesse de Toulouse, which Mesdames had asked for, the queen was on the side of the marquise, out of jealousy at the influence of her daughters. This apartment is greatly desired on account of the close intercourse it allows with the king, who comes down to it for a yes or a no many times a day.

This lady added that it was very plain that if the mistress were dismissed it would be the daughters who would influence the mind of the king, joined by the dauphin and dauphine if the latter gives us a Duc de Bourgogne, and there is no doubt now of her pregnancy.

[February 11.] The English nation becoming daily more in love with its liberty, and more intelligent as to what attacks, preserves, and increases that liberty, it is easy to foresee that the House of Commons will some day govern England; this will make her a true democracy: members being elected from each province and each city, elected by plurality of all persons capable of electing, and for the period of the parliament, which will no doubt be fixed at three years. The clergy have already become a cipher in England; the upper Chamber is despised, the king wearisome. The House of Commons has gained much over the two latter powers, and it will gain more at each turn of the wheel. National liberty for saying, doing, and writing is increased; the laws are liberal. It is the House of Commons which

gives and refuses the money: what freedom is here to make a happy progress!

[March 5.] I read yesterday the remonstrances of the clergy against the *vingtième* [tax], which the government wants to collect from them as from lay property. These remonstrances are touching, persuasive, and bold; eloquence says all that insult could say, but it wraps it in a show of politeness and even of respect; take off that wrapper, and the king is told that he has broken his word, his sworn promise, his coronation oath; he is faithless to his own declarations, to all that the kings, his predecessors, have maintained since Clovis. They quote, with much reason, the declaration of 1726. They say that it is delivering over the clergy to the mercy and injustice of those whom they are daily compelled to rebuke as wandering sheep—which seems strong. I see nothing in these remonstrances that is exaggerated, and to my mind the effect of exaggeration is to dissuade.

A new declaration of property is required from every private person, which will cause great murmuring for the finance department does not keep in any way to what has already been ruled for the *dixième*, and it means to push this *vingtième* much higher. I am told that the clergy, upper and lower, will maintain a firm resolution not to make this required declaration, although the Court hopes that through jealousy of each other it can separate the lower clergy from the upper, the second order from the first. They also tell me that the course the clergy propose to follow is not that of proceeding by ecclesiastical censure against those who levy the tax, but by abandoning their functions, saying no more masses or offices, and no longer administering the sacraments; by which the kingdom would be, as it were, excommunicated, which would violently agitate the people,

though religion is much lessened in the world. Formerly the censures of Rome touched it, but to-day they are looked upon *sicut brutum fulmen*.

This plan is imitated from the resistance of the lawyers in 1732, when advocates and judges laid aside their robes and refused to perform their functions, which obliged the royal authority to come to terms.

Bretagne is taking the same course; the furniture of a gentleman was lately put up at auction, near Nantes, in default of his paying his *dixième*. All the buyers stayed away, and they made it a point of honour to support him. Three hundred clerks have been sent into Bretagne for the *vingtième*, which, at a thousand *livres* a year, will cost 300,000 *livres*. It is impossible to hold the State assemblies in the month of October this year without exciting very dangerous troubles in that province.

The people of Provence are more roused than even others; the electors are forbidden to assemble again on this affair. Remonstrances are being circulated which are stronger than those of any other region.

[March 11.] Here, unfortunately, are the first shots fired on account of the new taxes. It is in Béarn, near Bayonne, that it happened. The attention of the whole public is roused, and the matter is making a great noise in Paris, where it is thought a demonstration will take place which will precede either a mitigation on the part of the treasury or still more distressing results.

One fact is plain; in Béarn, six to seven thousand men assembled behind a river to resist the assessors; many men were disguised as women, in order not to be recognized. They knocked down the houses of the assessors and maltreated many of them. The commandant of Bayonne brought from the château two companies of grenadiers of the Artois

regiment, who fired on the rioters and killed about a dozen ; some of the grenadiers were also killed.

I have read the remonstrances of the Provence region against the *vingtième* ; they are much stronger than those of Bretagne ; in them it is said that the king has broken every promise and denied all privileges ; his government is treated as tyrannical, disguising the terms respectfully. Nevertheless, word comes from Provence that though they are making declarations the intendant controls the people, and the heat is so far only in their heads, not in their actions. The fact of my son-in-law, M. de Maillebois, being appointed commandant in Provence has given rise to the belief that they are providing military authority against foreseen sedition.

[March 12.] In 1737 a book appeared entitled "History of French Ecclesiastical Law." I acknowledge that more than half is of my composition. In 1725 I was member of a conference, or little academy, composed of certain friends [L'Entresol]. Each had a department on which to write, and to read, in turn, his remarks and memoranda ; mine was that which makes the title of this book. The reason of my vocation was that, having just returned to Paris from an intendency, I was given in the Council the bureau of ecclesiastical affairs, which was held at the house of the Abbé Bignon ; and as I much liked the work, I endeavoured to distinguish myself in it by my industry. This ecclesiastical bureau was then like a parliament of parliaments, because the affairs of the Constitution Unigenitus brought before it a quantity of important matters connected with that bull. I was young and ardent ; I filled my mind with the rights of the king over the Church and the lack of right in the pope. I own that I passed the limits of the principles which the book lays down. After having composed a good half of that writing (a fair copy of which is in the hands

of the Abbé Alary) and collected the greater part of the materials, I was overwhelmed with other matters and commissions, and I turned my studies to questions of foreign policy.

At that time Père de la Motte, who had been my prefect at the Jesuit College, was very much dissatisfied with his Order; they had sent him as purveyor to their little house of Hesdin. He asked me for this work of mine; I let myself give it to him to complete; I sent him my memoranda, and quite a little library of books upon the subject. He continued the book, sending me, now and then, the sheets of it; I corrected them in my fashion and continued my readings at the Entresol. But the said Père de la Motte fled to Holland, and lived there several years under the name of M. de la Hode. Under that name he published various books which he wrote for a living, and among others, in spite of my remonstrances, this one.

It now transpires in the world that the book is mine, and I have not entirely disavowed it to friends, who repeat to others what I say. It is therefore asserted that I am paying court to the government, which sees their pretensions against the clergy canonized in the book; but the wrath of Rome and of the clergy who are incensed by it is to be feared.

I had yesterday a conversation with Lord Bath, formerly Mr. Pulteney. He told me that the reduction of interest on the British national debt from four to three and a half, and then to three per cent would certainly take place as an accomplished fact before the end of the year; that the ministry were endeavouring to win over the principals of each Company involved to consent to it; that his Britannic Majesty had personally much money in the said three Companies, and that this money enabled him to rule in their deliberations. I objected that, if so, it was his personal inter-

est that the three Companies should not consent to the proposed reduction. Answer: that in this struggle the interest of the creditor yielded to that of the king, not from virtue, but from fear lest the nation should be disgusted with his administration, and think only of exposing its malversations; that even as creditor of the State he had to fear the stability of too high an interest if the credit of the nation succumbed under its burden; that it sufficed to get the consent of one Company only to make the reduction of a half per cent, because, on that reduction they could borrow enough to meet the requirements of the other Companies who demanded the return of their investment, not consenting to the proposed reduction. Thus, he said, while the King of Prussia was keeping his money and treasures in a cellar and making no use of them, his Britannic Majesty, much cleverer, took good care not to leave his in Hanover, and without turning it over; he lends to commercial companies, and to his other subjects by annuities.

Lord Bath seemed to me more of a financier than a statesman; and I believe it is in that way that he shone in parliament and made head so long against Walpole. He told me, as to politics, that peace would last long in Europe, and between England and France; that the jealousy and antipathy between our two peoples would diminish as peace continued; that each could work with emulation for its own commerce, its own navigation, and the order of its internal affairs; that there was every opportunity in Europe to make a great commerce for the two nations.

He told me, as to the affairs of the North, that his nation would combine with ours to prevent Russia from insulting Sweden by regulating her government against her will; and that nothing was needed for this but concert with France. (Which I do not believe.) Regarding Italy, he assured me

his nation liked the Empress quite as well as it did the King of Sardinia (which I do not believe), and that England cares very little for Italian affairs; from which I conclude that Lord Bath either knows very little or pays no attention to the affairs of Italy.

[March 17.] The Comte de —, coming from Court, told me yesterday that written papers against the king were found lying on the mantel-pieces and floors at Versailles; on one of them was written: "You go to Choisy and to Crécy; why don't you go to Saint-Denis [burial-place of the Kings of France]?" They have lately examined the convulsionaries, the sect of religious fanatics called "*Sécouristes*," and many of them acknowledged desires against the king's life, which creates alarm. In Paris, the people talk so loudly against the government, and with such insults in the cafés and public promenades, that the police contents itself with watching them, and sending spies among them, but is careful not to arrest any one, for if they did they would have to arrest everybody.

It is impossible to go into any house where you will not hear the king and his government spoken ill of; the *vingtième* and the manner of exacting it have irritated every one, and the priests are preaching against it continually. They quote a speech of the Abbé de Nicolai to M. de Machault; the latter said to him in relation to the remonstrance of the clergy, "Monsieur, this is sounding the tocsin." The abbé replied, "It is you who have set fire on all sides."

I have never seen a man so indifferent to public evils and the misery of the people as M. de Machault; I have remarked this in many conversations with him; and one sees that his whole conduct is only a continual deference to principles of finance which exclude and destroy all freedom

for a community to govern democratically. I wrote a book in 1737 against these detestable principles.

[March 25.] I am now living in the solitude of a country-house (Segrèz), which at the present moment resembles a desert to which no one comes; scarcely do we hear the commonest and stalest news.

The people of this region are not unhappy; it is only ten leagues from Paris. The owners of the estates and country-houses are for the most part rich men of Paris, who come to spend their income, together with what they gather from their country property. Still, a great scourge is complained of; the game, especially the rabbits, eat the vines, the grain, and the fruits of the inhabitants. Suzerainty is a great evil, especially when it is joined to some authority from Court. The poor peasant fears all, but dares not complain; such are the remains of tyranny and barbarism still existing in France.

Diminish the power of the *noblesse* as you have already suppressed that of the clergy in France, but do not substitute for it that of the extortionate tax-gatherer as you are doing to-day; substitute that of the township, of a democracy legally appointed, and you will have good government.

They are arresting, with much success in country-places, poor beggars and vagabonds, so that we now see many less; they pardon those who have domiciles, and give them a license to beg their way back to their villages. If this continues, mendicity will be banished from the kingdom, without, however, diminishing pauperism, which is extreme; the poor will die patiently of hunger.

[April 22.] The Maréchal de Richelieu arrived at Versailles on the eve of a trip to Choisy, and went there with the Court. He carried his head high, they tell me, and was

well received by the king. No one knows what conversation he has had with his Majesty.

At last a decision is announced about which I feel a great deal: the place chosen for the statue of Louis XV. is the great esplanade between the Champs-Élysées and the bridge to the Tuileries; I gave the plan for it, and even a plan for the elevation, with a memorial written by me in 1748, to the provost of the merchants, who told me he had shown it to the king. This great public square will cost only the building; a single side of the palace towards the rampart, the rest in colonnades or balustrades of marble, bearing trophies and statues, a quay on the river, and a bridge across the Seine opposite to the rue de Bourgogne. It will certainly be one of the finest public squares in all Europe,¹ and the ground costs nothing, instead of which on the other accepted projects they were about to spend forty millions for the purchase of houses, doing great wrong to private persons and driving many citizens from Paris for lack of other homes. I derive some honour from this decision, which is an act of wisdom in which the public should rejoice. It will not diminish but increase the number of citizens and houses; it will give a new bridge across the Seine; it will cause the building of houses along the faubourg Saint-Honoré, and also along the faubourg Saint-Germain towards the Invalides; it gives a chance to finish the rampart on that side as it is in the Richelieu quarter and the Marais. Hence the embellishment, the enlargement of Paris, instead of the diminution there would have been had they chosen the Bussy site: joy, approbation, and a great saving; for it will not cost more than five millions, including the bridge.

[April 29.] It is true that orders from the king have

¹ Forty-three years later, Louis XV.'s grandson was beheaded in this square, named after him. — Tr.
Mem.

been given to all the bishops now in Paris, and who are not of the coming assembly of the clergy, to return at once to their dioceses; this shows a marked intention to begin early to intimidate the clergy and prevent them from embittering one another against the demand for the *vingtième*. It is also proposed to make this exclusion from Paris permanent for those persons who have nothing to do here; among whom are the bishops; the object being to oblige, little by little, those who derive their revenues from the provinces to spend them there, and not bring them, as they do, to Paris, which exhausts the country regions.

[May 2.] I am now at my country-place for a week, and I shall know less news of the Court and the world than ever, but more of myself. What happiness there is in tranquillity, in the companionship of one's own self, and in study!

Last night there was a beautiful aurora-borealis, and instantly the weather changed from foul to fair and the wind came round to the south. The blessings of the earth are promising; rain has come at the right time; the sap, retarded by the cold we have had for some time past, is now putting forth at its ease.

[May 3.] The weather is warm since the rain, which does great good to the fruits. I see that all will be well this summer in the region where I now am, except for the fear of the assessors; no one ventures to make outlays lest they should cause their tax to be increased next year.

[May 20.] The clergy are gathering in force, and their assembly meets in Paris on the 25th of this month. Every precaution is being taken to prevent an uprising. The prelates from Languedoc have orders not to arrive in Paris till the night before the assembly. All the instructions to the clergy of the provinces are uniform: they are to give no opinion if the demand is made to levy the *vingtième* on them

by the king's officers. In that case, they are to let things be done, even if orders are sent to the financiers to levy upon each rector arbitrarily; but beware of fanaticism and a resistance which may soon become general.

[May 26.] They write me from Paris that since my departure there have been frequent riots, especially on the 23d of this month, when there were four riots in one day on account of children being arrested. I do not understand what this means.

[May 27.] For the last six months my brother, who has charge of the department of Paris and the mounted police, has conceived and followed a scheme for putting an end to mendicity in the kingdom; but the only means he has taken is that of authority. The mounted police have orders to arrest all paupers throughout the kingdom; of these they make troops for our colonies, and they also take whole families and transport them. A quantity of such paupers were locked up in prison, as at Orléans, and at the hospital of Saint-Louis, faubourg Saint-Martin in Paris; but these they were soon obliged to release, because their subsistence was ill-provided for, and they were dying of hunger.

The archers of Paris in charge of the poor (who are called the platter-archers) arrested pauper children; and then mistaking, or pretending to mistake them, they arrested the bourgeois children, and it was this that started the riots. The populace gathered in crowds at the places where these captures were made, and on the 23d they killed from four to eight of the archers; they dragged them out from where they had fled and hidden themselves; the commissary appeared and was almost torn in pieces; the rioters pillaged some houses, and broke the windows of M. Duval, captain of the watch; the latter, however, pacified several quarters of the city with kind words. M. Berryer, lieutenant-general

of police, wishing to show himself, officers went before him to open a way; seeing it was not safe for him he returned — like a great captain who knows how to flee!

[May 28.] No one will believe that the archers did not kidnap children, and that it is purely the effect of the imagination of an excited populace. On either side there is no end to the questions and subjects of amazement: why should children be arrested? why take them instead of grown men and women fit to people the colonies? On the other hand, why should the people believe this was done if it was not done? Who is exciting them and prompting them to these frequent riots?

It is worse if there is no real cause, and no leader is spurring them on; it will then show a universal discontent which desires to make itself felt and seizes the first pretext that it finds, bursting out on all sides like the gangrene. I have letters of Sunday, May 24, which say that on that day the streets of Paris were so crowded with excited people that the man who wrote me was forced to take refuge in a café, where he was shut in for three hours. Certainly this seems to come from other reasons than the capture of a few mendicants.

[May 29.] I have just heard that the Parisian populace are pacified by the decision of parliament to issue a decree, to be placarded at the corners of all streets, in which it declares that the Court gave no order to the police to arrest children, and that if any have been arrested the fathers and mothers have only to present a petition and obtain their release. Thus the parliament plays mediator in this scuffle between the Court and the people; the latter regard it as the senate of Paris, and each citizen places confidence in it, which would better serve a democratic than a monarchical government; for the ministers of to-day are hated by the

people, who see nothing in them but tyranny. Bolingbroke has written a book that is widely circulated, exhorting kings to patriotism; but that is not enough; the ministers must have that quality also, without which monarchical government is regarded as tyrannical; and we see its effects on irritated minds.

[June 4.] The convocation of the clergy began yesterday with a sermon by the Bishop of Autun on *unbelief*, which seems a ridiculous subject on which to preach to the clergy of France.

The parliament is fairly cracking its whip to assuage the griefs of the people about the arrested children; it is receiving depositions on all sides, and its agents are working night and day on this criminal examination. The fault lies with M. Berryer, lieutenant of police, who was, they say, ill-served, but who has put as much harshness as negligence into the matter, so that he is likely to be summoned before parliament and reprimanded.

[June 7.] The proceedings are going at a great rate against the archers who arrested the children. One of them, named Leblanc, is convicted; it is discovered that he arrested these children without orders and for the purpose of extracting a ransom from the fathers and mothers, who were well-to-do bourgeois. In some cases the archers obtained as much as twenty, thirty, and fifty crowns. M. Berryer is totally discredited by this affair. I am assured that more than six hundred children have been embarked at Rochefort for the colonies.

[June 10.] The sedition is quieted; but I saw persons yesterday just from Paris, who have told me things *de visu* which they dared not write. The place is full of spies, letters are intercepted; in a word, the inquisition is worse than ever. What an evil remedy! M. Berryer dares not

show himself; they say he is in hiding somewhere, and has to meet the ministers to work with them where he can. It is he with whom the people are furious; if they could have got at him during the riots they would have torn him in pieces.

[June 29.] It is true that the king said aloud, before his Court, that he did not choose to pass through Paris on his way to Compiègne. "What!" he said, "shall I show myself to that vile people who say I am a Herod?" It is a grievous thing that he should take up these feelings, and they increase.

[July 4.] A lady in the interior of the cabinets and closely allied in friendship with Mme. de Pompadour, tells me that the king and the favourite are cruelly exasperated at the ill-will of the public towards them. On the day of one of the riots the marquise had gone into Paris to see the apartment prepared for her daughter, Mlle. Alexandrine, at the convent school of the Assumption. She was to dine with the Marquis de Gontaut, rue de Richelieu, and went first to his house; he met her and told her that he could not give her dinner, for it was not safe for her, and that she must go back instantly to Versailles; which she did, for the people were already crowding on to the rampart which overlooks the garden of that house.

[July 11.] They write me from Compiègne that everything there is very gloomy, very wearisome, and there is little company. The king has ordered from the manufactory at Vincennes [transferred in 1756 to Sèvres] porcelain flowers painted like natural ones, in vases, to the value of more than 800,000 *livres* for all his country-houses, but more especially for Mme. de Pompadour's house at Meudon. They talk of nothing else in Paris, and truly, this unheard-of luxury is a great scandal.

M. de Machault, controller of finances, has become the real favourite of the marquise. The Sieurs Pâris have retired absolutely from public affairs. Mme. de Pompadour flies now on her own wings, and has no known counsellor; the cabinets are no longer listened to on public matters. There have lately appeared some very insulting verses against the king; they were thrown on his table, but no one knows by whom, or whence they came.

The marquise has grown very thin but is still agreeable; she is more brilliant than ever and disposes of everything. It is a miracle how she can live and do all the many things she must attend to; it is only at Court one sees such miracles.

One million five hundred thousand *livres* are to be spent upon the fêtes for the birth of the Duc de Bourgogne (if one is born next month), to wit: one million for Versailles; five hundred thousand for Paris, which the municipality will pay.

[July 26.] The king, on returning from Compiègne and going to La Muette, was still unwilling to pass through Paris, a city he now detests and one his Majesty desires never to enter again. In this way, hatred will reciprocally increase between the sovereign and the people, which is very grievous. Nevertheless, they are preparing great fêtes in Paris for the birth of the Duc de Bourgogne which is hoped for; but the people will not be joyous, do what they will.

The heat is so excessive and is followed by such storms that quantities of people have left Paris. At the last change of guard at Versailles fifteen soldiers died of the heat striking upon their heads at midday, which is the hour for changing guard.

[August 2.] Five of the late rioters are condemned to the gibbet; the French and Swiss guards are ordered out for

the execution to-morrow. The discontent of the people is feared. Two of the archers are blamed, and one condemned. The mountain has brought forth a mouse; parliament has worked long over the matter of the abduction of the children, and all this vast labour ends in the condemnation of one archer (whom they dare not hang), and the reprimand of two policemen! Yet nothing is more certain than that a great popular riot lasted eight days, and that what gave rise to it was the fact that the policing of the city is badly done and cruelly vexatious for the last six months.

[August 3.] To-day is appointed for the execution of three of the rioters of May 22; the regiments of the French and Swiss guards are ordered out. This will cause great dissatisfaction among the people, who will say: "The next time there is a popular rising, let us make the most of our advantage; let us burn, massacre, rid ourselves of our bad magistrates; no worse can happen to us, and we shall be less unhappy." Besides, all this is making them lose faith in parliament.

[August 7.] They send me word that the hanging of the three rioters was done in a manner most aggravating to the people of Paris, and with mortifying precautions for the authorities. A large part of the regiment of the French guards was under arms. Paris resembled, they say, a scene of war, from the manifold military preparations. Suddenly a cry of "Pardon!" was given. This was a signal for the troops, who faced about to the people with fixed bayonets, and a number of persons were crushed; after which the hanging of the poor creatures went on.

[August 12.] Fêtes and magnificent expenditures are being prepared at Versailles; the cost is reckoned at eighteen hundred thousand francs; and all will be carried out whether there comes a Duc de Bourgogne or a Dame de

France. The king is to give a lottery to the whole Court, in which all the tickets are to be black; the prizes will be a quantity of old but magnificent jewels which the king keeps in his closets. At the Orangery at Versailles there is to be an attack on a fort by land and water, and to justify this extravagance our self-styled statesmen declare it to be a great stroke of State policy not to hoard money, but to circulate it; but this is the way of those who ruin themselves and others with them. There will also be many balls, ballets, and operas at Court; great magnificence, great expenditures for king and courtiers.

[August 23.] I have read the harangue of the commissioners of the king made at the assembly of the clergy a few days ago. The clergy win their case, and if they now complain their complaints will be ill-founded. In this manifesto the king, of his great kindness, agrees that the clergy shall continue the administrators of their property as before, with the duty of themselves assessing and raising the taxes for the royal treasury and for the king's debts; but solely as the trustees of the royal authority (against which the clergy will have something to say). Moreover, the king declares that the debts contracted by the clergy to aid him in his necessities are debts of the State; *also* that, his Majesty wishing to pay off his debts, five hundred thousand *livres* per annum will be levied for a sinking fund, which, with the usual million of gratuitous gift, makes fifteen hundred thousand a year; *also* his Majesty desires that the clergy shall pay their own debts, and that the distribution of such payments be better done than heretofore, for which purpose he decrees that the orders given in 1726 by the late Cardinal de Fleury to rectify this matter be carried out; *also* that a declaration to the above effect will be immediately sent to parliament for registration.

[August 24.] The declaration of the king to the clergy which I have just read, is very wise; and it was registered by parliament instantly and without difficulty. In it are the words I remarked in the harangue of the king's commissioners to the assembly, namely: that the clergy have the right to tax themselves for subsidies and for the needs of the State *only* as "trustees [*depositaires*] of the king's authority." Thus the subjection of the clergy to a tax for the needs of the State, the simple delegation to them of the king's right to assess it, a mere trusteeship in managing their own property,—all this will shock them. At any rate, these conditions are novel and hard facts which the clergy will not see decided upon without pain, nor will they pass without contention from their polemical writers. Finally, the king requires that the clergy make new declarations of their property and offices; but that this be done among themselves and by their own clerks, except that the said declarations be communicated to the king in whatever manner he may appoint; which may result in close control.

I must say that all this seems to me very just and well-weighed; these Church beneficiaries will henceforth be made to keep a strait path.

[August 25.] Voltaire has left France forever, having resigned to the king his office of historiographer of France, and written to his niece, Mme. Denis, to sell all his effects and follow him to Prussia. His Prussian Majesty gives him a large pension, and another to Mme. Denis. This change comes from the annoyances he has met with. He quarrelled with M. de Richelieu because of what he said in his "Political Testament" about Cardinal de Richelieu. He asked M. de Puyieux if he had any commission to give him in Berlin, and the minister answered, "No." He spoke to the

king in the same way; his Majesty turned his back on him, and the dauphin did the same. This coldness piqued him extremely, and he got his Prussian Majesty to write the king a letter asking to be allowed to keep Voltaire always with him. The king answered that he was very glad of it. His Majesty remarked to his courtiers that it was a lunatic the more at the Prussian Court and a lunatic the less at his.

[August 28.] Bad news! The dauphine has given birth to a princess, and not a prince, as everybody hoped.

The clergy have written to the king on the subject of the late declaration; he makes no answer; he waits, and the assembly is still going on; it intends to send another deputation. The clergy are dissatisfied, not with the declaration itself, but with the principles it establishes.

[September 4.] The king has shown a cold, stern face to the dauphine for not having given him a prince; sadness and mortification on both sides. The dauphin also is aghast.

[September 11.] Speaking some days ago with . . . of my economical conduct, which enables me to live at my ease, but not to enlarge my estate or complete my house at Argenson, he answered, between his teeth, "It shall not always be so." This has returned to my mind the last few days, not knowing exactly if that meant anything or not.

An assessor has come into the village district in which is my country-house, and has told the people that the parish will have a much heavier *taille* to pay this year; that he had observed the peasantry to be fatter than elsewhere, and had seen chicken-feathers on the doorsteps, showing that they lived well, were comfortably off, and that I spent much money among them for my household provisions, etc. This is what discourages the peasant; this is what causes the ill-

feeling of the kingdom; this is what Henri IV. would weep over were he still living.

[September 19.] I have seen a copy of the answer of the clergy to the king on the demand to contribute to the payment of the debts of the State. It is in few words and very nearly as follows: "We know the justice and magnanimity of your Majesty; you will not think it wrong that the clergy *will never consent* to give as a tribute of obedience what it has always given as a proof of love and of respect."

All Paris admires that concise and noble reply; but here is resistance to orders. And in what form were those orders given? In that of a declaration by the king, deliberated in Council and registered by parliament; there could not be a worse example of resistance to authority. The Council has assembled, but we do not know the result. What course will the king take? It is thought that the controller-general will attain his end, that of breaking up all corporations.

[September 20.] Here is great news. Day before yesterday, the 18th, M. de Saint-Florentin went to the assembly of the clergy; he read them a long letter from the king, containing reproaches for their refusal and their conduct, then he proposed precisely the same things as before; and, the clergy persisting in their refusal, he proceeded to read a *lettre de cachet* breaking up the assembly and sending each member, each bishop, each archbishop, within twenty-four hours, back to his own diocese; which is now being executed. Thus Paris will be without bishops; for a few days before the assembly met they sent away all the bishops who did not belong to it; and on the dismissal of these, none will be left.

So this no doubt is the last assembly the clergy will ever hold. The Jesuits are accused of inciting them to this rup-

ture, having an interest in getting rid of the bishops, who stand in their way at Court. As the Court is in no need of the upper clergy it can do without bishops, and they will have to stay in their dioceses, like good priests who attend to their ministry. The Jesuits and my brother affect to cry out against all these operations, of which they are the real authors.

[September 26.] I have just spent a day at Court and this is what I learned. There is much embarrassment as to the affairs of the clergy and their resistance. The councils held upon them showed much diversity of opinion; that of my brother was, they told me, adroit and eloquent; that of Cardinal de Tencin good and founded on principles; as for that of M. de Saint-Séverin and the other ministers whom he controls, it was terrible and almost went to massacre; counsellor of tyranny, malignant Italian, bold and cruel coward, like all base men, he wants our ruin.

Mme. de Pompadour, in showing her new château at Meudon to a foreign noble, asked him if it was not the most remarkable house that could be seen. He answered, "Yes, for not only is it seen from Paris, but by all Europe." All this excites the people of Paris and France terribly; they complain everywhere, for while these vast expenses are incurred at Court the people are miserable and the taxes increasing.

The controller-general has just made a secret loan of twelve millions to meet the quarterly payment on the sinking fund for the extinction of the king's debts; there is absolutely nothing with which to meet it; yet it must be paid punctually on the first day of each quarter.

[October 10.] A great friend of the controller-general admits that from the whole conduct of this minister with the clergy one must infer that he is either imbecile or treach-

erous; treacherous, if he meditates something ulterior against the promise of the king that the clergy shall not pay the *vingtième*, etc. However that may be, here is authority compromised by excess; here are the two powers, weapons drawn and arms uplifted; the sacerdotal saying, unanimously and according to its conscience, that it will never consent to what the king demands; and the royal power saying that it is about to employ all its authority to make itself obeyed.

Observe that little by little we are embracing Luther's reform (as to discipline only); we destroy the convents; we break up all bodies of clergy, and all concordance in the main body; we look unfavourably on hierarchy and the clerical Order; we treat it as laic; we prevent it from assembling even as a provincial clergy. Certainly, these are great governmental views, but will they be fortunate ones?

I am told that during the present trip to Fontainebleau the chancellor, who is very ill, will resign the office he can no longer hold, and that my brother will have it. Nevertheless, they are luring me with the hope of being appointed. If I should receive a letter from his Majesty announcing this, my answer is all ready; it is as follows:—

“Sire, there is nothing comparable to my joy in henceforth serving your Majesty except the desire I have to serve you well.”

[October 13.] The anger of the king against the clergy increases daily. He will listen to no jests on their refusal of obedience; every bishop found in Paris is sent away, and his Majesty says to a few still at Court, “Monsieur, why are you not in your diocese?” which makes them start at once. Certainly, it is a great good to make them reside there. Some flatterers say it is a high stroke of statesmanship.

[October 16.] The sole matter that to-day occupies foreign politics concerns Spain. That power is daily cap-

turing English vessels in the Gulf of Mexico, whether laden with contraband merchandise or merely navigating the seas contiguous to their precious possessions. The Spaniards delay the regulation of the commerce of the South with Mr. Keene; and England perceives that she has gained nothing by the war and is about to fall back into the same conditions, which will bring on another conflict.

A collection is being made in Lyon for the workmen; they are feeding them at thirteen sous a day, and instructing them; but this cannot last long; these men must work or die.

[October 18.] Malcontents are beginning to make themselves heard on the affair of the clergy and the taxes; they say that the Marquise de Pompadour is attempting to imitate Anne Boleyn; that is, to introduce the reform of religion into France and to extinguish the hierarchy, that she hates the Church, etc.; these are the beginnings of very seditious and very dangerous discussions.

It is quite true that the entrance to the apartments at Court is forbidden to all ecclesiastics as well as to all monks. I know Court abbés who are staying in the country, because they cannot go to Fontainebleau; none but the chaplains on duty, whose names are given to the guards, can pass into the apartments. All this gives us a Protestant air which rejoices the real Protestants.

[October 25.] It has been represented to his Majesty that there is great imprudence in his making a stay at Bellevue, Mme. de Pompadour's new château at Meudon, because that place appears to insult the people and their misery, and being so directly in view of Paris, if another popular sedition arose the rioters could go out by the plain of Grenelle, set fire to the château, and drive out the company who might be there.

[November 11.] My brother has been much attacked recently on the score of his bad and expensive management, his debts, the difficulty of paying what he owes, the money spent by his wife and son. My nephew continues and increases his expenses at Asnières, where he is making a house as beautiful and grand as Chantilly. In this connection much is said of the decent life and the philosophical retirement which I have led for the last six months at Segrèz, the true friends I have received here, my tranquillity, amusements, confidences, promenades, etc.; and above all, the good studies in the mornings. The king spoke of this to my brother with eulogy.

It is decided that there will be no more comedies or ballets at Versailles, and the theatre is to be removed to Bellevue, of which the king takes possession on the 22d of this month.

They continue to watch the silk-weavers at Lyon, fearing they may slip away into other countries; every one subscribes to their support; Cardinal de Tencin gives up for one year the revenues of his archbishopric. But how can they long maintain such an effort, which marks so plainly a bad government? The silk merchants in Paris are selling nothing this winter; every one is retrenching, and there will be, they say, no marriages this year.

Some persons say that M. Chauvelin is to be Keeper of the Seals as he once was; they relate that the king talked of it a few days ago with certain courtiers in Mme. de Pompadour's apartment; and having asked the Comte de Saxe whom he should appoint, the latter answered that he knew no one better than M. Chauvelin, and the king said nothing against it, which seemed to them all a great thing. They also say that his Majesty added: "But you say nothing of Comte d'Argenson, of whom so much has been

said ;" on which the maréchal replied that he was far from wishing his removal from the great office he occupied, and in which he had become so superior. This of course was sarcasm on his lips.

The son of M. Chauvelin has just been killed in a duel by an officer of the Guards with whom he quarrelled at Chambord. Truly, M. Chauvelin has the fate of Job ; so many misfortunes overwhelm him, blow after blow ; perhaps the consolations will come at last ; it would certainly be one to be appointed chancellor after the resignation of M. d'Aguesseau.

[November 24.] The Maréchal de Saxe has again fallen very ill at Chambord ; he sent at once for the Sieur Sénac, his physician. The libertine life he has led since his last recovery brought on this relapse.

[November 25.] To-day begins the first stay at Bellevue ; the king is to sup there to-night, and all the courtiers who accompany him are to wear fine purple uniforms embroidered in gold ; even the *valets de chambre* are to have the same, and the marquise gives the cloth. The waistcoats are also purple and gold, of a stuff made expressly at Lyon.

[November 30.] The trip to Bellevue has not been agreeable : the chimneys of all the apartments smoked, which is often the case in new houses before the dampness wears off. Nothing was seen but purple clothes, a uniformity that was soon wearisome. Some one brought word to the marquise that a crowd of gazers expected to see the illuminations from the plain of Grenelle, on which she hastily countermanded them. That evening the king, with the Court, supped in the Taudis, a little house at the foot of the garden which was bought ready built ; that, at any rate, did not smoke, so now the king has another royal residence, *le Taudis* [the Hovel].

Mem.

Ver. 3—9

[December 2.] We heard yesterday of the death of the Maréchal de Saxe. After the great bleedings which they gave him at Chambord to reduce the inflammation of the lungs, he had water on the chest, swelled up, and died suddenly Monday evening. He made a will, leaving the king universal legatee. *Sic transit gloria mundi.* The Sieur de Sénac, his doctor, arrived at Chambord at the moment when there was no longer any hope for his life; the maréchal looked at him and merely said, "My friend, this is the end of a noble dream."

[December 8.] Persons have come from Court to tell me that in the conversations there is much talk of me as chancellor of France; the delay of the appointment is said to be, and apparently is, a struggle between the ministers and the favourites. Mme. de Pompadour supports the controller-general and wants him to be the chancellor and keep the finances. The other side propose many choices to the king. The favourites, the mistress, the ministers, the clamours of the Maréchal de Noailles, the pitiful jests of the little dandies of the cabinets,—all this makes combat, conflict, and turns the king from any decision. During this time and since M. d'Aguesseau's illness, nothing is really done in law and justice; the king has the documents sealed before him, or before the dauphin, which makes a little amusement.

It is noticeable that almost no marriages are taking place this winter in Paris. Penury is becoming great, even among the financiers; and as the inconveniences of marriage are felt more and more in society, every one desires to keep his celibacy, and with good reason. It is predicted, not by astrology, but from reason and appearances combined, that marriage will pass out of fashion in France within a few years.

The more I examine my brother, the more I find that what

he has obtained more than I have done comes from the mediocrity of his mind. With that quality a man is more shrewd, more adroit, does not commit faults through his mind (though many from heart and spirit); he becomes rich, he seduces men through their interests, etc. My son will be of the same kind. The Jesuits boast much of them both.

[December 12.] M. Lamoignon de Blancmesnil is appointed chancellor, and M. de Machault (controller-general) Keeper of the Seals. All Paris is displeased at this dividing of the functions of the chancellorship, and the gift of half of them to M. de Machault, already, they say, so greatly rewarded, while the public, and especially the chief Orders in the State, are so dissatisfied with him. This, they say, is how little work and bad work is recompensed. Certainly, M. de Machault is a mediocre man, and in no way a statesman; how fantastic to make him a personage!

Oh! the Court, the Court, the Court! In that word lies all the evil.

The Court has become the sole senate of the nation; the commonest valet is senator, the waiting-maids have a share in the government, if not in ordering, at least in hindering law and order, so that by dint of hindering there are no longer laws, orders, or orderers. Thus when any reformation in the State is necessary, the ministers tremble before the valets; and how much truer that is when the mistress has enormous influence and the monarch is too easy, too kind to all about him.

This ascendancy of the Court has come about since there is a capital expressly for the Court—Versailles. Under the late king this was felt, but less; for he was lofty, firm, and gave great authority to his ministers, no matter what people may say about that; but under him, and more under

Louis XV., the ministers have done much to perfect arbitrary monarchical power; the Court thereby increases its power over the nation; the taste for luxury has so increased that as the *noblesse* grows poorer, the honour of spending and the dishonour of economizing increases also, and this is plunging the nation more and more into the necessity of squandering to its own ruin.

The Court prevents all reform in finance and increases its disorder. The Court corrupts the military and naval professions by promotions from favouritism; it prevents officers from rising to the generalship by good conduct and emulation. The Court corrupts morals; it preaches to young men entering their careers, intrigue and venality, instead of emulation by virtue and labour; it breaks the neck of merit, if merit shows itself. The Court impoverishes the nation so that soon the financiers themselves will have no money. The Court prevents the king from reigning, and from developing the virtues that he has.

V.

1751.

[JANUARY 2.] On the 29th of last month an event happened in the parliament of Paris which may have serious consequences.

The Chambers were assembled to register the letters-patent of M. de Machault as Keeper of the Seals. A counsellor made known a fresh refusal of the sacrament, a new act of schism on behalf of the bull *Unigenitus*. This refusal was made to M. Coffin, counsellor of the Châtelet, nephew of the famous M. Coffin whose burial made so much noise two years ago. He is very ill, and he asked for the sacraments; they questioned him on the bull, and, upon his replies, they refused him the sacraments of the Church. It was the rector of Saint-Étienne-du-Mont, a canon of the church of Sainte-Geneviève, fanatical for the bull, who gave this schismatical refusal.

Parliament has been in a state of irritation for the last two years on the vain promises the Court has made it to stop these acts of schism. This time it has determined to be no longer the dupe of them, and it now declares that justice must be done to it. The assembly of the Chambers immediately summoned the rector of Saint-Étienne before it; he was forced to obey, as on any hesitation the order would have been converted into one of arrest. Questioned on the matter, he said that he had consulted the Archbishop of Paris, his superior, and had taken his orders. Questioned still further, he said he "had no account to render to parlia-

ment ;" on which they sent him to prison in the lower part of the Conciergerie, and deputed two of the members of parliament to go to the Archbishop of Paris and ask his reasons for this.

[January 3.] The rector of Saint-Étienne-du-Mont has been again interrogated ; they released him, but reprimanded and fined him. Some members voted to enjoin him to give the sacraments at once to M. Coffin, who is in danger of death, but this did not pass. Remonstrances to the king on this schismatic scandal were ordered.

The rector of Saint-Étienne showed the orders of the Archbishop of Paris not to give the sacraments without a signed confession ; his reason being that several Jansenist priests are interfering and confessing persons in Paris without the power to do so ; but this rule of a signed confession, obtained at the moment of death, is a bad practice, which parliament justly blames.

[January 7.] The Chevalier de . . . , put in the Bastille for writing verses against Mme. de Pompadour, is condemned to a year in prison, and then to be sent to the Knights of Malta, who have claimed him.

The king has replied to the deputies of parliament that he approves of its deliberating on the refusal of the sacraments to M. Coffin ; but that parliament had been too hasty in imprisoning the rector ; that he would make the matter his first business, and would maintain subordination, etc. On this, parliament has assembled to make further representations to the king, asking his Majesty to forbid the bishops from exacting signed confessions. They write me that all Paris is much irritated against the higher clergy ; we shall become either priest-ridden or nothing.

[January 10.] Every one talks of the bad administration of M. de Machault ; and yet his power increases daily, and

no one dares to speak against it. His arrogance is extreme ; he was present at the last general meeting of the Company of the Indies ; it was proposed to increase the dividend by one pistole a share. One of the chief directors having pointed out that this could not be maintained, and when they withdrew it the Company's paper would fall lower than it was raised by this temporary advantage and with less reason, the Keeper of the Seals interrupted him and said he had foreseen all that, and had decided on the increase. At another time it was a question of electing four honorary members to the said Company ; the Keeper of the Seals announced that he had selected eight, and then retired, to leave them, as he said, the liberty of voting. All present looked at each other, and declared there was no liberty in that sort of deliberation.

This minister has represented to the king that four hundred thousand *livres* still remain unappropriated on the sinking-fund, and that Mme. de Pompadour has many debts. On which the king has given the whole sum to that lady ; and it is said that this was the agreement under which she had M. de Machault appointed to be Keeper of the Seals.

A man just arrived from Bordeaux tells me that that region of country has fallen into great desolation and gloom from want of money and the ruin of private individuals through bankruptcies and losses in commerce on all sides. The English are not taking the Gascon wines, alleging that they have enough on hand for three years ; they hope by this to bring down the price of those wines to what they please, knowing the poverty of the French people.

The poverty in Lyon is also increasing. There are more than twenty thousand silk weavers turned out of work ; they are being watched lest they go to foreign countries ; very paltry alms are being begged to support them. Silk stuffs

are much diminished in price in Paris, because the shops are already full and there is no sale for them.

Yesterday we read the new representations of parliament, well drawn up, requesting the king to make the bishops revoke their order to exact confessions signed by dying persons before granting the sacraments. At this assembly of the Chambers it was related that, the sacraments being refused to the sub-dean of the parliament of Toulouse, that man had a certificate of the act drawn up and signed by witnesses; then, dying as he was, he had himself dressed and carried to church, to communicate at the mass, which they could not refuse him.

At a hunt in the forest of Saint-Germain the king ran the risk of his life. A stag having rushed at him, M. d'Estourmel, an officer in the brigade of the body-guard, rode in front of him in such a manner that his horse was killed.

The king is making great expenditures at La Muette; moving the poultry-yards to a distance so that he may no longer see them; also making courtyards and ante-courtyards, enlarging the gardens and taking in for that purpose a portion of the Bois de Boulogne; the Bois will then be planted in conformity with this design, to make connection with the garden-alleys of La Muette; all things which will cost much money at a time when there is scarcely any in the royal treasury.

[January 12.] There is much talk of the destruction of our commerce. A man who comes from La Rochelle tells me that the commerce of the isles is at a low ebb there, as it is in Bordeaux. There has just been a bankruptcy at that port for two million five hundred thousand *livres*, which involves the ruin of many private persons. The source of this is the extreme poverty of the provinces, for commerce, like luxury, is only the result of the internal wealth of a State.

This man tells me that our islands in America are so overstocked with European merchandise that some is being sent back to Europe, especially linens, and that there is actually a profit to make in bringing them back for sale in France. There are forty vessels at Bordeaux, belonging to ruined merchants, now for sale. They must either be sold to our enemies or broken up.

The affair of an *École Militaire* for five hundred gentlemen has passed and is being executed. M. Pâris-Duverney takes upon himself the management of its financial means; he found this project among the papers of his late brother, the eldest of the Pâris. A tax is to be laid of thirty sous per six packs on playing-cards; also they talk of applying to this purpose the trust-fund of the *Quinze-Vingts*, declaring that Saint-Louis created that trust only to relieve nobles blinded by the Saracens during the Crusade, and that it has been misapplied in relieving poor *roturier* blind men; these they propose to let die out, putting several into the hospital of the Incurables; but we may be certain that this will greatly displease the whole people of Paris.

All monks are going to make the declaration of their property as the king required. They were frightened into this by the threat of an edict the king might give, fixing the age for the vows at twenty-two; the nobles are also opposed, it is said, to that wise law. In this way all the monastic orders are brought to obedience. Several bishops have also given signs of docility; the Bishop of Auxerre says he shall obey when certain other bishops have obeyed; the Archbishop of Sens says he was mistaken when he resisted the Court, and he does not know where his mind was when he did so. All this turns to the grandeur of the Keeper of the Seals, and inspires the king with great confidence in him; but what fruit will the State get from it? None.

[January 20.] The king and the Marquise de Pompadour have much at heart the military school for five hundred gentlemen which my brother has undertaken. They compare this establishment to that of Saint-Cyr, which, in itself, is good for nothing, and furnishes every year a quantity of prudes who can no longer marry men of their own sort, or, if they do, make them furious with their haughty principles. It will be just the same with these five hundred gentlemen, who will not be much profit to the king's service. The expenses will be heavy on the capital of the State. Alas! bread is lacking to the people; what the country wants is the breeding and nurturing of plebeians, not that of the drones of the hive. This is what I should say to the king if he consulted me upon it.

The miserable Chevalier de Resséquier has been judged (without tribunal) for having written verses against Mme. de Pompadour, and condemned to twenty years' imprisonment, then banishment, and the Duc de Biron is ordered to give his office to others. It was said at first that his punishment was much lighter. A generous woman, affronted as the marquise has been, would have sent for this man, reproached him justly, corrected, and advanced him.

A Court lady told me to-day that the Court was unendurable, so dull, ridiculous, and unjust has it become. The queen is now very well satisfied with the marquise, who obtains for her all she wants. Much is told of the bourgeois and ridiculous speeches made by the marquise, who affects the full power of a prime-minister as a cardinal might do. She said to an ambassador who was taking leave: "Continue to do as you are doing; I am very well satisfied with you; you know that I have long been your friend." She determines, she decides, she regards the king's ministers as hers. Nothing is more dangerous than the use made of M. Berryer, lieutenant of police,

who renders account to this lady of all that happens and is said in Paris; this is dangerous because every woman, especially this one, is vindictive, ruled by her passions, and deficient in sense and integrity. It is a dangerous inquisition, under which many innocent and virtuous persons may succumb. The marquise piques herself on her kindness and her encouragement of the arts; but the public looks upon her as it did on Mme. de Prie during the ministry of M. le Duc; and perhaps they are not wrong, for all is perishing on every side, within as well as without.

[January 24.] Yesterday Parliament enregistered the edict for the military school of five hundred gentlemen. They will not be chosen or their education begun until the building is completed, which will not be soon. Parliament also enregistered the edict for the tax on cards at twenty-four sous the six packs, which will make each pack cost ten sous, and players, lacqueys, and gamblers will elude the increase by using the same pack many times, or by counterfeiting the cards, which is very easily done. The product of this tax is to go to the support of the above-named gentlemen.

D'Anville, the geographer, has shown me on a map what were the claims of the English against us in America. With their Acadia (which they call New-Scotland) they claim the right to push that possession to the right bank of the Saint-Laurence River. They have claims on the island of Saint-John, although they have ceded to us the whole of the Gulf of Saint-Laurence. To the south, they claim to confine the Spaniards to their Florida, and to leave them precisely nothing but that peninsula. Passing behind Florida towards the west, they claim more than half of our Louisiana as far as the river Saint-Louis or Mississippi; and from thence, still going westward, they covet our territory which joins that of the Spaniards. To the north of Louisiana they want to go

as far as Lake Ontario; and as for Canada, they surround it with their Hudson's Bay and Davis Strait, and they are trying to explore a territory for an issue as far as California. These claims which have been shown to me are taken from the report of M. Silhouette, one of the commissioners to settle the boundaries with the British. Never will they agree on this: *litigando jura crescunt*, and they are pleaders without judges. Our adverse party has terrible strength at sea, also in her colonies, by the multitude of their inhabitants, and by their wealth. If we are to believe the English, we shall see them get possession of all North America, and the greater part of the islands between the two Americas.

Their design is not to quarrel with Spain for any cause whatever, but rather to become its master as it has in Portugal; to plunge us, if possible, into a new war, and to profit during its progress by their relations with Spain and Portugal to rob us of our commerce, while our ships can bring nothing in safety to Cadiz or to our own islands.

[February 1.] The Jubilee¹ will bring about, they say, great events in the Church; my brother desires to drive the Jansenists to the wall, but parliament is keen in their behalf and against persecution.

The king is working, or talks in private every evening, with the dauphin. It is assuredly very praiseworthy to let this prince see the working of affairs. It is said that the king will gain the Jubilee and will perform his Easter duties this year. The marquise swears by her great gods that there is nothing now but friendship between the king and herself; in fact she is having a statue of herself (which I have seen) made for Bellevue representing her as the goddess of friendship.

¹The Jubilee was a plenary indulgence, solemn and general, granted by the pope under certain conditions, and on certain occasions.—Tr.

The Jubilee has arrived; it was placed by the Nuncio in the hands of the chancellor and M. de Puy sieux. It was sent to France with one reserve, namely, against the opponents of the Constitution; the king refused it thus; he demanded it on the same conditions that I made in 1745, namely: that the bull be a separate matter, pure and simple, with a private (not public) brief relating to its opponents.

[February 4.] It seems certain that the king and Mme. de Pompadour will gain their Jubilee; they affirm that there is nothing now but friendship between them. Nevertheless, the marquise is not without fear of the directors and confessors; if some eloquent priest should intervene, more powerful in speech than the worthy Père Pérusseau he would say: "It is not enough to stop the sin, you must stop the scandal." They say that the Jubilee will certainly operate great changes at Court, for the king is resolved to gain it, and has so declared himself. People think that he awaits this moment to lead a more edifying life and manage his expenses with greater economy. All the Mesdames de France are in great and bigoted devotion, and are striving to turn their father into the same. They think the Jubilee will be a great event for them, and that the marquise will decamp on this occasion. She behaves with a boldness and temerity of which there are few examples.

[February 12.] The government is renewing its activity against the reformed religion; but their measures are always insufficient and employed by fits and starts. As for me, I wish that, having made such uproar and done such harm to the kingdom by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, they would now continue and increase intolerance and severity against the "public exercise;" but at the same time I desire to arrange those principles so as to allow of secret

tolerance, as is done in England. No reformer should be admitted to office; their marriages should be null so far as the inheritance of children; they could not, therefore, hold landed property; they would be reduced to the state of Jews who can own only money, their coffers, their portfolios, and furniture; in a word, like our Jews, their inheritances would descend from hand to hand, which would benefit the kingdom. But they should be allowed their own ministers in sufficient number, and all penal laws against such ministers should be revoked; a particular code should be made for this secret tolerance.

[February 15.] They say that with the Jubilee private pastoral letters were sent by the pope; one, among others, to the Archbishop of Paris, in which his Holiness orders him to remonstrate with the king on the scandal he is causing by his amours, making the archbishop responsible for the continuation of this scandal, if it continues; and I hear that this letter was the subject of the long conversation which the king lately had with the prelate.

They say, also, that the pope has cleverly turned a page for the Jansenists on the occasion of the Jubilee. It should be known that the Holy Father is very tolerant, and that he blames the persecution exercised against the pretended Jansenists. Now, the Molinists had brought the king to solicit from his Holiness a pastoral letter to himself (as in 1745) excluding the Jansenists from the benefits of the Jubilee. The pope gave it, but he added an exhortation to his Majesty to stop the scandal of his amours. By this means the letter remains in the dark, clandestine and well hidden, for it would be impossible to cut off part of the sacred missive. There was also a letter to the Archbishop of Paris, mentioned above, exhorting him to stop the said scandal.

[February 18.] For some time past the king has had

more than one affair with unknown beauties, being very weary of the marquise. He has recovered strength, thanks to these new ragouts.

[March.] The whole Council and ministry are crippled by illness; my brother has the gout very hard, which gives him fever; M. de Machault has fever, and his stomach is in a bad state; the Marquise de Pompadour also has fever, but they call that the "Jubilee fever," because the proximity of the Jubilee throws her into a great fright. I hear always the ups and the downs, the for and against of her affairs. The king will certainly gain the Jubilee, but after the manner in which the late king gained it during the time of his amour with Mme. de Montespan, and they have been searching out carefully how that was done. His Majesty lately met his daughters on their way to vespers; they invited him to go, and he went. This frightened the marquise. On the other hand, her friends assure me she was never so well with the king, and more mistress than ever. She is getting plumper and more beautiful than she was, except as to her hands and arms; the king will not let her wear rings or bracelets; she puts them on as soon as he leaves her, and takes them off when he returns.

Père Griffet, a Jesuit, preaches this Lent at Versailles, and his last sermon was on the woman taken in adultery, in which he thundered against present practices.

[March 11.] There is much talk of devotion at Court, and they follow with ardour the sermons of Père Griffet, who preaches boldly against the morals now in fashion. Nevertheless, the Jubilee is, they say, positively postponed till Whitsuntide; and it is already announced that the theatres will not close until their usual time. The king, however, does not miss a single sermon in preparation for the Jubilee. He has changed his hunting days in order to attend every

one of Père Griffet's discourses, which are preached twice a week.

[March 16.] The hôtel de Conti is sold to the Hôtel-de-Ville of Paris; the contract is signed barring the ratification of the Duchesse de Chartres when she comes of age, which will be in June next; meanwhile the Duc de Chartres acts as her guardian in this sale. The City of Paris pays sixteen hundred thousand *livres*, and two hundred thousand *livres* bonus for it. This is ruinous to the Hôtel-de-Ville; it has just borrowed a million on life annuities to pay the debts it owes for all the fêtes of bad taste it has given for several years past. It must borrow again for this purchase, and then for the building, which ought to be magnificent and in good taste, as befits the dignity of the capital of France. The cost will be at least three millions. So here is the city of Paris running into a debt of five millions which is not necessary.

Intrigue does everything at Court in these days. The Prince de Conti becomes the protector of those who have helped to do him this service, such as my brother and the provost of the merchants, M. Bernage, whom this affair will probably keep three years longer in his office. The former Hôtel-de-Ville will be given to the administration of the Châtelet for civil and criminal cases. Great expenses, and little needed.

It is decided that the Jubilee will not be given to us before the 4th of next July; at that time the king will be away on one of his journeys, perhaps to Chambord, or on a trip through his kingdom. The pastoral letter is to the effect that appellants and opposers of the Constitution Unigenitus and all *public sinners* shall be excluded; which is felt to apply to our monarch, who keeps as his mistress the wife of a bourgeois of Paris, a woman who would never be

heard of at Court without this scandal. The people will now cry out that the sins and weakness of the king have visibly deprived them of the grace of the Holy Spirit. Meanwhile, the king continues very assiduous at Père Griffet's sermons.

In my country place, where I am now, I hear it said that marriage and population is decreasing on all sides. In my parish, which has few homesteads, there are more than thirty lads and lasses who are over marriageable age; but no marriages are made and there is no talk of making any. Spur them to it, and they all answer the same thing: "It is not worth while to make more miserable beings like ourselves." I myself tried to marry some of the girls by assisting them; I found the same argument, as if they had all agreed upon it. A gentleman, one of my neighbours, told me he knew in the county more than a hundred young gentlemen unmarried, and still more young ladies who were not in a position to marry.

[March 23.] We have just had a terrible hurricane, universal throughout France, which must have carried its ravages elsewhere; we hear every day fresh news of its effects. On the 15th of this month the wind uprooted trees, and blew down houses; chimneys fell and crushed in a great number of roofs; destroying parks and gardens; the waters rose in such a manner that floods are universal. The city of Tours is swamped by the breaking of the levees of the Loire in five places. In Paris the Seine is almost as high as it was in 1740.

There is great talk of certain printed *Oremus* ordered to be said in the church of Saint-Roch during this Lent; the Maréchal de Noailles gave them to the rector from the queen. When the people heard them for the first time there was a great outcry about the innovation, and it was thought that

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they related to the Unigenitus, but their real object was soon understood. I have read them; they are quoted wholly from Scripture, and they ask God plainly for the conversion of the king, for whom Heaven had already done so many miracles, but who showed himself so ungrateful towards God by his scandalous amour, etc.

The reason why the king did not go to Père Griffet's last sermon was that the father was to preach on the duties of each state, a sermon in which he attacked vigorously his Majesty's amour with the marquise.

[March 27.] Mme. de Mailly, the king's former mistress, is dying; they thought her better, but the inflammation of the lungs increases and fever makes the case desperate. The king has not once sent openly to inquire for her; but the Marquis de Gontaut has four bulletins a day and takes them to the king, who is afraid of offending Mme. de Pompadour. I am convinced he will be very much touched. Devout persons and those who believe in Providence reflect that, the king having had all three sisters as mistresses, they have all perished young. This was the first, and she is dying devout and the death of the righteous; it is even by religious practices that she has brought on her illness; there is every appearance that she will die a saint. The two others died in horrible suffering, and both much younger.

People also reflect that God is taking such care of the king's conversion that this death happens at the time of the Jubilee to touch his feelings, after his Majesty has been prepared by sermons, and dispose him to make his Jubilee sincerely. The Jesuits are saying five masses a day in their three houses in Paris, — fifteen masses for the conversion of the king; and they boast of it. The Jansenists say that if the king becomes devout he will persecute them, as in the time of Louis XIV., because the Jesuits will direct his conscience.

Nevertheless, the courtiers are rehearsing ballets and theatricals in the cabinets, and intend to play them secretly during the Jubilee.

[April 1.] The Comtesse de Mailly died the night before last. She is regretted by all Paris as a kind woman who had done no harm to any one during the eight years she was the king's mistress; which regret comes as much perhaps from hatred of the woman who is now in that place as from reasons favourable to Mme. de Mailly personally. She threw herself into great and estimable devotion when she left the Court, and has persevered in it ever since. It has been remarked, to the honour of religion, that she showed the temper of a bull-dog while she was the king's mistress, and that he even sent her away for that reason, but that after she turned to devotion she never had a moment's ill-humour. They call her saint — or no woman ever will be one.

No one knows exactly to what point the king may carry his affliction; people are watching closely to observe what happens. Every one longs for the monarch's conversion; but I hear those who are nearest to him say that he has never for a moment thought of making his Jubilee. The conversation his Majesty had with Pères Pérusseau and Griffet turned only on compliments to the latter for his good sermons, and a few general remarks about the Jubilee. The king asked them, always in a general way, whether they thought that habits which persons were not willing to renounce were an obstacle to making their Jubilee; to which the fathers could only reply in the affirmative, saying that no one could present himself for the Jubilee with such intentions; on which the king cut short the conversation.

The marquise is preparing a quantity of trips and dissipations to distract the king from sad and pious thoughts.

Easter Tuesday there will be a trip to Trianon lasting till Saturday, and several other little journeys. There are at this moment five hundred workmen employed at Bellevue; and a journey to Marly is fixed for May 5. They fear, however, that during Holy Week the length of the services and some diminution of the resources of the marquise may cast his Majesty into reflection and wean him from her. Certainly the king's piety would make the Court more gloomy, but it would be great profit to the public welfare, for devout persons are thrifty, and economy can alone save the kingdom now.

[April 4.] The day the king heard of Mme. de Mailly's death, he did not sup with the courtiers in the cabinets as had been arranged, and he seemed much touched and wept; but they say that piety still does not enter into it. The marquise consoles him as best she can, and certainly we owe obligations to that lady for preventing the king from falling into one of those maladies that arise from ennui; it must be owned that she benefits his health, forces him to move about, amuses him and restrains him.

They complain in Paris that nothing is seen but *nouveaux riches*, who outbid every one, especially on the rents of houses, so that now there are few to be hired. Nothing is seen in the streets but equipages filled with persons hitherto unknown, or seen only in lower stations. They are purveyors, furnishers, hospital and other military contractors, who have made too much money; for which my brother is blamed, — he having gone beyond even the Pâris in the ruinous habit of encouraging excessive gains for fear the service might come to a standstill.

[April 13.] The Prince of Wales is dead, through his own fault; he had a heavy cold, but would walk in his garden and sit in an arbour, where he fell asleep. The doctors

told him two hours before his death that he was cured, and he told them that he felt he was dying.

Voltaire writes that he is very well and very contented in Prussia; that he wants to show his ability to live happily with every one, inasmuch as he is on the best of terms with the father of the faithful (the pope, whose pastoral letter he has printed at the beginning of his tragedy of "Mahomet") and the father of heretics, the king of Prussia.

The Prince of Wales leaves debts for twenty millions of our money, and no one will pay them; but the creditors lose it with pleasure; they are all men of the Opposition party, who, seeing the king's hatred of his son and the little means he gave him, willingly advanced to the prince enough money to enable him to live with splendour. A king will always be disliked in England; no matter how amiable and patriotic he is, the people will hate him and love his enemies.

[April 16.] It seems that the loan they want to make for the king is to be obtained by a lottery of sixty millions, for which the enticements to the public will be great. It is the most magnificent piece of gambling ever proposed in France; for lotteries are nothing else than games of chance, on which men stake with passion, and consequently with temerity. Injurious passions are the agents, and certainly it is wrong in a government to rouse in this way the dangerous passions of the people. There is talk in England of a still more magnificent lottery. The Jew Henriques proposes one to pay off in ten years the national debt, which now amounts to eighteen hundred thousand pounds. We take the vices of our neighbours; the science of stock-jobbing is perfecting itself here by deforming us on the English pattern.

I am told that the king's household, meaning his personal expenditures, cost sixty-eight millions last year, which exceeds by more than half what was spent in the days of Car-

dinal de Fleury. This includes buildings, kitchen, stables, hunting, wages of officers, servants, gifts, and pensions other than those given for services to the State. It is necessary, they say, that the royal treasury should borrow this year forty-five millions for its pressing needs; but the king's credit is lowered and people are locking up their money. There is talk of putting paper on the market; that is to say, a forced paper. I know enough of such matters to be certain, if that happens, that it is inevitable to fall back on coin to raise or lower values; without which you can never force the public to operate in paper.

[April 26.] The new chancellor, M. de Lamoignon, is regarded as a worthy man, very bourgeois and with little mind. He has just had some annoyance from parliament touching the presentation of his commission to the Chamber of Accounts.

[April 28.] All agreement with the clergy is absolutely broken off; and bad mediators are meddling in the matter. The king says openly that orders are given to compel the clergy to pay the tax of 1,500,000 *livres* for 1750, and soon that of 1751 for a like sum, and by the end of this year that for 1752 will be due, making in all 4,500,000 *livres* by order of council. The orders given to the intendants go so far as the seizure of the temporal authority of all the benefices of the kingdom. This comes of the total rupture of negotiation for compromising that sad affair of the *vingtième*. It has been rumoured that the property of the Order of Malta would follow the fate of that of the clergy, and I learn that in Angoumois they have just seized the grand priory of Malta for much larger sums on the *vingtième* than it owes. This is the result of the clergy refusing to give in their declarations of property. The financiers say that those thus mulcted of the *vingtième* have only to give in their declara-

tions truly to escape it. Thus the war begins again, worse than ever, against the clergy and their dependencies, which may lead the royal authority very far if the furies of finance are allowed to go on as they wish.

[May 1.] There is much talk of the necessity of a coming revolution, owing to the miserable state of the interior government of the kingdom. This revolution will aim only for the appointment of a prime-minister, wise, virtuous, and respected, who will restore economy in the king's expenditures and in what they call in England the "Civil list;" which will put an end to the excessive influence of the Court on the government; and perhaps also it may demand a Council, or even the States-general of the nation. But the procuring of such new arrangements by revolution is the difficult and grievous thing; because they could only come about through rebellion, in which the clergy would take part, and perhaps one or two of the princes of the blood, those who are most set aside to-day, such as the Prince de Conti and the Duc de Chartres.

The Marquise de Pompadour is to appear at Marly in a gown trimmed with English lace that cost 22,500 *livres*!

All payments are delayed; the Duc d'Orléans told me yesterday that his pensions and the whole of what he receives from the royal treasury has not been paid for two years and one quarter.

[May 24.] It is confidently stated that the Prince de Conti is to have the place in the Council which Cardinal de Tencin vacates. If that happens it will be in spite of Mme. de Pompadour and her influence will have lessened, which I doubt. The minister of Foreign Affairs could not stand it; the prince would destroy more than he benefited; this is how things go from worse to worse in the kingdom; each man hinders good and no man produces it; hence great evil.

The prince is needy and ambitious ; he can obtain in this way all the money he wants ; the Jesuits will sustain him and the whole party in opposition to the reigning ministry ; my brother belongs to that party. The Prince de Conti is the sworn enemy of M. de Machault, controller-general ; this will set the ministry ablaze ; the king will feel the schism, and plenty more of the reigning party will feel it and hinder it. They will have good reason to say that nothing is more against good policy than to thus misplace a prince of the blood. All the other princes will demand the same position. The dauphin himself will be jealous, also the Duc de Chartres. None but the presumptive heir to the throne should be admitted to the Council, and even then the custom is not to admit him until the king is old. There are secrets of State which ought to be hidden from him. Moreover, the Prince de Conti has the design of becoming King of Poland, and he would bring everything to bear on that ambition.

They have carried to parliament for registration the decree of a loan of fifty millions ; twenty millions in annuities for the needs of the royal treasury, thirty millions in *rentes* at five per cent to pay the costs of the late war, purveyors, commissaries, hospitals, etc. Parliament has sent a deputation to Marly to present remonstrances to the king, who received them very ill on the afternoon of the 23d, assuring them that the assembly would displease him much if it did not enregister the edict instantly.

[June 1.] The affair of the registration is over, but with all the protestations and remonstrances that were possible. The king showed his teeth to parliament to make them authorize the loan of 53 millions "on pain of disobedience," and they had to obey and register the edict ; I have read the remonstrances and answers. The registration passed

in parliament by only ten votes, and those who refused cast great shame on those who registered.

[June 4.] They write me from Paris that sixty-two votes in parliament were against the loan; that the public is very much displeased with parliament for having yielded; that the Court has shown too much joy at this success, when it ought to have shown only gravity and gentleness; that no one manifests the least haste to put his money into this new loan, the resistance of the parliament having caused much alarm as to the royal treasury. I have the edict in question, printed at the royal printing-office; the registration of the parliament casts great shame on the financial administration, for it speaks of it as capable of "the most shameful stellionate," against which all possible precautions should be taken.

[June 5.] No armaments have ever been seen like those of the Barbary coast, which are superior to all others in the Mediterranean, consisting of squadrons of ten or twelve xebecs, manned by four or five hundred men, all chosen from the finest countries of Turkey. They claim that they are acting under orders of the Grand Signior to clear the seas of all but Turkish vessels. They board and carry off all Genovese, Venetian, and Neapolitan vessels; the coasts of Italy are no longer safe; these pirates have seized the Christian vessels in the roadsteads of Sicily. In short, this evil increases and will increase if the ruined Christian princes do not immediately take some final, unanimous, and courageous resolution to destroy this dangerous race.

[June 16.] I have gathered in my province what I consider an impartial view of the state of the inhabitants; and I find that misery increases and will increase through the bad principles of the ministry and the intendants. The country is depopulating and this is more evident daily.

The fine roads and highways are good, but those who are

laying them out are impatient to finish and hasten the work by *corvées* [forced labour], which are crushing the villagers in a circuit of a dozen miles. I see these poor people dying of poverty; they are paid for their carts fifteen sous for work that is worth an *écu*; and in my region it has taken long for twenty carts to do twenty-four miles each, which has brought the inhabitants to beggary. There is nothing to be seen but squalid and ruined villages; no houses are built or rebuilt. The collectors of taxes and the treasury charge each year half as much as the tax for levying it. The poor are behind-hand in paying what they are powerless to pay; the rich dare not pay the collectors more than they do, for fear of a heavier imposition; the whole community dreads an increased tax for the coming year, and pays ill expressly. Thus the misery increases. All the money from the land goes to Paris; none comes back to it, except a little from other parts for the wheat sent to them. But beware of a bad harvest! all must perish then.

[June 17.] They are becoming more and more sullen in the province that I inhabit, Touraine; in the two years since I was here last I find far more indifference to the Court and to what is going on either in the government or the nation at large. Nothing incites the people's curiosity about the Court; they ignore the reign. Let us not seek the reason of this in lack of esteem or indifference, in want of love or in aversion; it is an impulse no doubt that comes from none of those sentiments.

The distance between the capital and the province seems to increase daily; all goes to the first, nothing returns to the second; I notice that the people are ignorant of the most marked events which have filled our minds in Paris.

What will come of all this? Less interest in the maintenance of public power, more sensibility to the woes felt in the

provinces, and which the people suspect to be the fault of the ministers. The little good the provinces have depend on the harvest, the seasons, the winds, the sun ; all of which are casual ; therefore the evils surpass the good. The inhabitants are no longer anything but poor slaves, beasts of burden fastened to a yoke, moving where they are whipped to go, caring for nothing, troubled for nothing provided they can eat and sleep in their own homes. From such a manner of thinking and living there results for the kingdom greater weakness than formerly. The people in the provinces are becoming more barbarous, coarser ; vices will be more violent, industry less strong, no emulation, no civility ; the arts will die out ; virtue will not increase through reason, still less through philosophy ; but I agree that, by these very means, despotism will strengthen itself, and that is what those wretched ministers at Court are seeking.

[June 21.] It is not to be wished, however, that too much money should be scattered in the provinces. Persons too magnificent in their charities and too little enlightened in their munificence, financiers who dispense much money in their districts have also spread vice with their money ; for the great vice of all is laziness.

I have never seen such a fine and flourishing country as Austrian Flanders ; this is because the cities are not so commercial and rich as formerly. Bring back the old riches and the peasants become lazy and vicious ; they will then work only for luxury. The consequence of general wealth is greater inequality in its distribution ; now, equality is the sole general good, and no legislator was ever more right than Lycurgus on that point. With more general wealth roofs are covered with slate instead of thatch, coats are made of silk and not of wool. Does that make the country-man happier ? No. But, as I have said, inequality of wealth

follows with more disproportion; hence slaves and tyrants; discouraged slaves without liberty and oppressed; unjust tyrants vicious and idle. Idleness lays hold equally of oppressors and oppressed.

The beneficence of the rich in country-places ought to have two objects: happiness and population. First remove evils, and good will come by the instincts and fortunate operations of nature; the peasant must have a tranquil mind and a sense of liberty; he must be sufficiently fed, and even with some abundance. After that he marries, sets up a home, is not afraid to have children; take away from him the dread of a starving home, and the blessings of economy and population will come of themselves naturally; order comes when you do not present before the eyes of men vain objects of ambition and luxury.

Whoever, therefore, gives in the country should give only with a true understanding and knowledge of the case, informing himself thoroughly of the condition and inclinations of those to whom he gives.

Relieve the parish of all extraordinary expenses, such as the repairs on church and parsonage; give the people public works such as will interest them in their village, a new bit of paved road, a pretty market-place, a town-hall, a plantation of trees, etc. Never give charity to the poor that has not for its object work and earnings for them in what they know how to do and can do.

Enlightened Charity.

Sense of freedom.

Confidence in divine justice, in exemption from oppression, injustice, and ruin; repair accidental misfortunes, play the great rôle of Providence, which repairs evils, which supports the weak and does not swell purses; take away wrongs, and the great goods will come of themselves.

[June 26.] They have begun to work in earnest on the building for the École Royal Militaire; they are drawing and cutting stone and building the foundations. It will take a long time to build, and will cost much money.

“Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis, tempus eget.”

They have dared to tell the king that posterity will see nothing grand from him in the way of buildings, although he has spent so much money on them. They think that will induce him to vindicate and glorify his memory in the present project; to which is added that of the fine public square to contain his statue, the Hôtel-de-Ville, the bridges at Orléans and at Tours, etc. But where will they find the necessary money at a time when they have too little for current expenses?

[July 12.] A man who has just come from Paris tells me that they are working in force on the École Militaire, which will be a larger building than the Invalides beside it, and will even surpass that of Louis-le-Grand. The king has bought quarries near Senlis by way of economy (a method that costs much). Pâris-Duverney will advance, he says, the whole sum necessary, namely, fifteen millions. All other building is suspended in favour of this one.

[July 25.] A French gentleman has given to the English a secret for mounting cannon so as to aim more accurately, both night and day; it has been tested and found admirable; they are about to use it in England both by sea and land. What a cursed invention! To kill more men than they do already!

Letters from Poland state that Prince Edward Stuart is certainly in Poland and has married the Princess Radziwill.¹

¹ The doings and movements of Prince Charles Edward after leaving Avignon are very little known; and the same vagueness follows his marriage project. He was supposed, successively to intend to marry a Princess of Prussia, then a daughter of the Czar, and finally a daughter of the

This news is published and more and more confirmed; the Tories are charmed, the Whigs desperate; the Tories are the richest of the two parties. The supposition is believable; Poland is a free country where, by dint of having parties of all nations, none predominate. Russian, Austrian, Swedish, English, Prussian, French, Saxon, — not one prevails over the rest. The aristocracy preserve anarchy carefully so that each noble may tyrannize on his own estates. Hence, this free country is marvellously suited to a fugitive prince; he has relatives there through his mother. His good friend, Mme. de Talmond, is the head of his council; she must have urged the prince to this place of exile, and possibly she managed this marriage.

[July 27.] The king has been very gloomy at Compiègne, and becomes more so every day; he finds himself in extremely embarrassing domestic circumstances. His species of firmness compels him to stiffen himself against what the parliament and people want, namely, retrenchment at Court, yet he knows that is absolutely necessary. There is talk of sending away 2000 horses from the stables, and lessening the number of journeys. Mme. de Pompadour informed the Abbé de Magnainville (who told this to a friend of mine) that she could not buy his estate of Magnainville, at a cost of 500,000 *livres*, but would pay him the indemnity for having kept him waiting so long and preventing its sale to another person.

Dissatisfaction with the Court and government is extreme in the public mind; the people murmur aloud, and it is said everywhere that the reason the two vacant places in the ministry are not filled is that honest men will not take them, and it is as well they should be empty as filled with scoundrels. My

Landgrave of Hesse. There is a letter in existence from Prince Charles speaking of the latter marriage as having taken place. It was not, however, till 1772 that he married the Princess Louise of Stolberg.—FR. ED.

brother, they say, is attacked on his pecuniary fidelity; there is talk of three millions the use of which is not apparent, and for which the Keeper of the Seals has arraigned him before the king. Mme. de Pompadour and all his enemies, of whom he has many, have joined in. Certainly, it is very annoying to be exposed to such suspicions; our race is not accustomed to it; people dwell on his family expenses, his followers enriched, and the affectation of poverty which he makes as to various things.

But my son-in-law, the Comte de Maillebois, stands well at Court, with the king and with the favourite; they have taken a liking more and more for his good sense, his courage, and his manly qualities, which are better fitted for dealing with public affairs than are found among other courtiers.

[July 29.] They write me of fresh cavillings at Court and further threats against my brother; the marquise does not think her favour is secure unless he is sent away; the Keeper of the Seals, the Abbé de Broglie, and all her partisans are pushing the matter of my brother's dismissal as much as they can. I know that a few months ago the marquise, being pressed to bring it about, replied: "Wait a little while longer! it is not yet time." They write me from Compiègne: "How happy you are not to be in the midst of these dark whirlpools; nothing is lacking to you but a right knowledge of your happiness."

[August 29.] The famous Baron von Neuhof, King Theodore of Corsica, self-styled, is just let out of a debtor's prison in London and has found a young and beautiful English lady of birth and fortune, with an ambition for this chimerical title of queen, to marry him.¹

¹ A German adventurer, who called himself king of Corsica. Horace Walpole opened a subscription on his behalf, which gave him a subsistence till his death in 1756.—FR. ED.

[September 3.] I have just read the remonstrances of parliament to the king, of August 30. They are eloquent. It is not true that the king answered that he would have them examined in Council; he merely said that he would answer them. A good Molinist, a friend of the Archbishop of Paris, told me the following quite artlessly :—

That the archbishop did not regard the dispute between the king and parliament about the administration of the hospitals as his affair; that he paid no attention to it, as it was the king's affair in its origin and in its consequences; that it was only the outcome of the decision to eradicate Jansenism and extinguish it in the hospitals, as had been done at Narbonne in the university, etc.; for the administration of the hospitals was, he said, whether in the temporal or the spiritual, totally Jansenist. The priests made proselytes and even preachers, who spread those doctrines among the lower classes so that the *canaille* were becoming Jansenists. The sisters and the directresses were all Jansenists. The clergy had wished that the archbishop would make himself master of all the hospitals to exterminate the sect to which at present all administrators, such as lawyers, farmers-general, counsellors, devotees, etc., belonged. All lawyers, he said, were Jansenist; and for that reason they had wanted to drive out the lawyers.

[September 7.] A politician said to me yesterday that our present government could only be defined as a "spendthrift anarchy;" and by those two opposite principles authority was rushing to its destruction.

This prodigality is the result of institution, habit, and effeminacy. Louis XV. found the institution and etiquette of expense established by Louis XIV.; he would have thought it derogatory to himself to diminish it; those who profited by these expenditures persuaded him of the same,

and none would have dared to tell him the contrary. To this must be added apathy, indolence, which lets everything go, a courtesan mistress, a veritable kept prostitute, one of those who exalt the glory of a man who "spends on women;" for the king himself is neither prodigal, nor magnificent, nor devoid of wisdom, but he is easy-going, frivolous, and effeminate.

Blowing in our direction from England comes a philosophical wind of free and anti-monarchical government; it has entered minds, and we know how opinion governs the world.

It may well be that this sort of government is already arranged in certain heads, ready for execution on the first occasion; and perhaps this revolution may in the end take place with less of a contest than we now think. Neither prince, nor seigneur, nor religious enthusiasm, should enter into it; it must be done by acclamation, as the good popes elect themselves at times. All the Orders are discontented at the present time. The military, dismissed the moment the war was over, are treated with harshness and injustice; the clergy are scouted and vilified as we know; the parliaments, the other courts, the provinces, the provincial assemblies, the lower classes crushed and gnawed by hunger — over all these the financiers are triumphing and bringing back the reign of the Jews. Such matters are combustible; a riot may turn into a revolt, and a revolt into a total revolution, resulting in the election of tribunes of the people, comitias, communes, which will deprive the king and the ministers of their excessive power to do harm. The best reason that can be brought against this is that an absolute monarchical government is excellent under a good king; that is true, but who can guarantee us that we shall have a Henri IV. Experience and nature prove, on the contrary, that we shall have ten bad kings against one good.

Already the clergy are beginning to butt the government and oblige it to draw back after appointing February last as the time to deploy against them the whole force of the royal authority if they did not previously yield. Already, too, the parliament of Paris is advancing with great strides to force back that authority, which has threatened it loudly in the face of all Europe and now softens down, seeing the evil that may happen to it. The parliament thus emboldened will pass to other enterprises; this body is overbearing, all the while holding itself to rules as it does. It is certain that the king must live this year within his revenues and pay his debts with the funds now provided for so doing, because, should he require more revenue for the coming year, the parliament will oppose invincible obstacles to his getting it, proud conqueror that it is.

So, by the way things are going,—no reform being made in the expenditures of the Court, abuses increasing, economy disappearing,—it is to be expected that the king will find himself obliged to grovel uselessly before his parliament, far more than the kings do in England. Let us remember that the parliament of Paris is composed of magistrates more difficult to corrupt than the English members of parliament; they can only be frightened by authority and threats; but these they have just conquered, and they feel their advantage.

[September 16.] Good news that I have just received; the dauphine gave birth to a Duc de Bourgogne at a quarter past three in the morning of the 13th of September.¹

[September 18.] I have just spent two days at Court and return to my retreat with pleasure. I talked often with the ministers. I found far less intelligence among them than

¹The Duc de Vauguyon, governor of Louis XV.'s grandsons, used to call them the four F's: the *fin* (shrewd) (Duc de Bourgogne); the feeble (Louis XVI.); the false (Louis XVIII.); the frank (Charles X.). The Duc de Bourgogne died February 22, 1761.—FR. ED.

among those who are not ministers and have some culture of mind. Not to let myself be vexed, I turned them to their personal interests, and on those they reasoned eagerly and profoundly; but on public matters and interests they yawned, said nothing of value, the little they did say being superficial, and as if they had formed no principles of their own about them.

[September 26.] The people have shown more consternation than joy at the rejoicings for the birth of the Duc de Bourgogne. The shops were ordered to be closed three days, but no one pays any attention to the order. There were never so many fines levied for neglecting to illuminate the houses. When the king passed through the streets to Notre-Dame only a few lads cried out, "Vive le roi!" and they were hired to do so. In consequence of this, the king would not go to the Hôtel-de-Ville, as he had promised. The beautiful fireworks given by Mme. de Pompadour to the king at Bellevue were seen in Paris, and that has made more talk. Everything is taken ill by the public; and it all comes, as I have often said, from false cleverness.

VI.

1751—1752.

[OCTOBER 2, 1751.] An officer just arrived from several of the provinces through which his regiment passed tells me that he should not be surprised to hear of uprisings in those provinces as in Paris, so keen and deep is the discontent against taxes, the manner of levying them, and other wrongs, added to a poverty never known in France until now. This discontent, he says, is in all the Orders; the military desire to leave their posts, and every one is more detached from the throne than in countries which have done more to recover their liberty.

[October 4.] A man just from Court relates that Mme. de Pompadour cried out bitterly against the little joy the people showed to the king on his late visit to Paris, saying that those ungrateful wretches ought to be decimated and hanged. This speech, being spread about, increases the ill-will of the people towards her; she wanted to go to Paris, but was advised not to do so.

The Maréchal de Richelieu affected not to pay his court to the king on the birth of the Duc de Bourgogne. It is said that, the king having proposed to him to marry his son, the Duc de Fronsac, to Mlle. Alexandrine, daughter and sole heiress of Mme. de Pompadour, the maréchal replied that, the mother of his son being of the House of Lorraine, he must previously consult the Emperor and learn if he approved the marriage; since then, open quarrel.

I learned last evening by courier that my brother has obtained for my son the survivance of his own office of secretary of State for war.

[October 10.] I am told that intrigues are increasing against my brother ever since he obtained for my son the survivance of his office. People say it was done in spite of him by some invisible hand, although he himself had made the first proposition. They want to get rid of him; they want to appoint a successor, but that successor has been difficult to find; and now one presents himself, young, docile, in need of prop and support. Soon after his instalment they will praise him and laud his assiduity. Then, in order to get rid of the present incumbent, they will try to disgust him; they will also build him a golden bridge, make him a duke, peer, and chevalier of the Order; that is really to what my brother's ambition tends, both for himself and for his race; so that in this way, still preserving his place at the Council, he will become a great seigneur. The cabinets talk against him and say all the foolish and malicious things about him that they can, but perhaps he himself is in concert with this manœuvre.

[October 15.] At last here is a treaty signed between England and Saxony; the news reached London the first of this month. The difficulty of its conclusion was reduced to the one point that Austria should indemnify Saxony for the destruction her troops had done in Saxony in 1745. But the English, to all appearance, persuaded Austria to pay for it. The treaty costs a round sum to England; she pays a big subsidy for six years, which is thought to amount annually to two millions of our money. Saxony promises her troops to England if a necessity arises; she promises her vote for the election of a king of the Romans [of the Holy Roman Empire]; and she accedes to the treaty of 1746, for triple

alliance with Russia. So, here is Saxony alienated from us, as she was by the treaty of Warsaw in January, 1745, which I destroyed soon after. The Comte de Bruhl is very glad, his sentiments being wholly English and Austrian. This is the work of the Comte de Saint-Séverin, our minister in Council, who hates the Saxons. Our dilapidated finances contributed to make us refuse the share in the treaty which was offered to us. With a little money to give, (much less than the English are giving), we could have had on our side Saxony and Bavaria; Saxony above all is necessary to us, and here, by the prodigality of Comte de Bruhl, she is reduced to sell her liberty, her honour, and her true interests.

[October 22.] Here is some frightful and enigmatical news, about which all Paris is arguing. A Mme. Sauvé, head chambermaid to the Duc de Bourgogne, has just been put in the Bastille; she was poisoned a few days earlier, but saved by an antidote; nevertheless, it was she who gave the first notice of the crime in question. She warned Mme. de Tallard, governess of the royal children, that some one had thrown into the cradle of the Duc de Bourgogne a thick package containing coal-dust and a fuse, with very insulting verses to the king; this package was at once taken to his Majesty. Since then Mme. de Tallard has frequently questioned Mme. Sauvé, and finally, the latter is imprisoned in the Bastille. It is conjectured that she saw the hand that threw the package and suspects the author, but for some invincible reason does not want to tell all that she knows.

All this is horrible and gives the public much to talk about; heads are heated and turned in a manner to cause fear. The king is black with gloom; the affair happened just before the trip to Crécy, and during that trip the relatives of Mme. de Pompadour stayed the whole time in the

kitchen watching the preparation of food in fear of poison. No one is allowed to enter the room of the Duc de Bourgogne without a written order from Mme. de Tallard.

[November 1.] Mme. Sauv  has been examined three times in the Bastille by M. Berryer, lieutenant of police. They say that the other chambermaids hate her and charge the whole thing to her; they declare they saw no other hands than hers that could have thrown that package into the cradle, and it was their testimony which caused her imprisonment. Mme. Sauv  is a stranger among the crowd of palace servants; she has no relatives among the under-officers; she has been a prostitute, and has done much intriguing, with the protection of my brother, M. de Saint-Florentin, and M. Beringhen; she was formerly a fishwife. Nevertheless, in this affair she seems to be the victim of vexation and envy; and there is one fact in her favour, namely: fifteen days before the package was found in the prince's cradle the king had received the same verses that were found in it. They were sent to his Majesty under cover to Lebel, his head *valet de chambre*. They are very insolent and treat the king as a tyrant.

All this has produced a great fermentation at Court, especially against the ministers who have protected Mme. Sauv . For my part, I think her perfectly innocent, and that she did very right in artlessly giving notice of the package as soon as she perceived it; but Providence sometimes provides that the good actions of unworthy and culpable persons are the points at which God punishes them for their other faults and vices.

The queen has fallen into superstitious devotion. She goes at all hours to see "la Belle mignonne;" that is to say, a death's-head. She declares that it is that of Mlle. Ninon de l'Enclos. Several of the Court ladies who affect devotion

have given her a fancy for this performance, which they exercise among themselves. They decorate skulls with ribbons and head-dresses; they illuminate them with little lamps, and meditate before them.

[November 7.] M. de Chavigny goes to Switzerland as our ambassador; a soft-spoken man, with a supple spirit, but no mind, no resolution; a true pet, who has done badly wherever he was sent. His place as ambassador to Venice is filled by the Abbé de Bernis, a wit of the Academy, a languid abbé, making pretty verses that escape his laziness, disdainful, nothing of a man, liking to sit up at night in the society of the fair sex, and getting up at midday; moreover, without a sou of patrimony; but Mme. de Pompadour will help him, and so will the Pâris. These are the powers just appointed as our ambassadors.

[November 16.] Mme. Sauvé has declared that she will tell nothing except to the king alone; but that to him she will reveal certain secrets in his family. They say she has been taken to Fontainebleau and has had a conversation with the king. Her place has been filled in the household of the Duc de Bourgogne; but the affair remains in great obscurity.¹

[November 21.] Profound politicians think that the

¹ Horace Walpole, writing to Sir Horace Mann Nov. 22, says: "Nothing is talked of in Paris but the conspiracy of powder in the cradle of the Duc de Bourgogne with threats of assassination. Have you seen the verses? They have been placarded at the Louvre, the Pont Neuf, and other places:—

'Two Henrys immolated by our brave forbears,
One to Liberty, the other to our gods,
Inspire us, Louis, to a like emprise;
In thee those former tyrants live again;
Fear our despair: the *noblesse* has its Guise,
Paris its Ravallac, the Church its Clement.'

Did you ever see a more clerical fury? "— FR. ED.

general league against us may design to profit by the bad disposition of our people, worn-out by arbitrary government which reduces them to misery, and by causing a revolution in France lead to government by the States-general and the provincial parliaments. This would certainly prosper the kingdom, but it would also give more peace to our neighbours; for it is the despotic government of France, like that of Turkey as to absolute power, which has undertaken wars that have troubled our neighbours and ruined ourselves.

There is much question now, in the minds of the whole people, of the approaching revolution in the government; they talk of nothing else, and even the bourgeois are imbued with the idea. I am told that the other day a monk, sitting on a bench in the Luxembourg, heard some of these talkers saying: "Yes, it is a good thing that the ministry drive the clergy to the wall." On which, the monk gently defended the rights of his Order. But the others, after listening to him, said: "Father, we know your reasons; we are not talking in that sense, but in the sense that these violences of the government against the clergy *will hasten the revolution.*"

[November 24.] M. de Machault, Keeper of the Seals and controller-general, has just resigned the finances to the king; they say that M. Trudaine is sent for to administer them, but I know he was in Paris at the time. It is thought that M. de Machault is tired of searching for useless resources and of being the butt of public opprobrium; also that he does not choose to retreat himself in the affair of the clergy (which must be done). He will have but little authority when reduced to the simple office of Keeper of the Seals. Every one waits impatiently for the outcome of this rumour, which is well-founded.

A well-informed man of the Court assures me that when

M. de Puysieux resigned the ministry of Foreign Affairs there was much talk of me; a number of the honest men at Court cried out in my favour (though I had never asked them to do so); that the king wished for me, but that certain persons, whom I ought not to name, had worked against me when they ought to have worked for me; they made a pretext of the dislike of Maréchal de Noailles, who would always, they said, make dissensions and quarrels in the Council; but my informant said that if M. de Noailles died this summer I should certainly be recalled.

On Sunday last the king finished the affair with parliament touching the administration of the hospitals. In one quarter of an hour the Council had drawn up a decree which gave to the king all jurisdiction and all cares concerning the hospitals, the whole to be placed at once in the hands of a commission. His Majesty then sent for the chief-president of parliament, two of the judges, the king's lawyers, and the clerk of the parliament, ordering the latter to bring with him the last volume of the parliamentary register. It was found that the writing up of the latter was much in arrears, the last entry being in 1740, but the clerk brought with him the loose sheets. The king asked him for those which related to the administration of the hospitals, and on these being given to him, he put them in his pocket. Then his Majesty ordered MM. Meynard and Marie, two clerks of the secretary of State, to write upon the register the decree of the Council giving to the king all jurisdiction in the hospitals and breaking all other decrees, and forbidding parliament to again assemble, discuss, or remonstrate with his Majesty on the subject of the hospitals. The chief-president spoke extremely well, telling the king what would be the distress of the parliament at this treatment, its zeal, etc.

This is the day the Chambers assemble and the chief-

president will render an account to parliament of this act of authority. It is thought that the manner of it will be criticised: a decree of the council without letters patent, enregistered by the hand of the Versailles clerks on the register of parliament, the suppression of the loose sheets of the minutes as containing matter opposed to the royal authority, the prohibition to concern themselves about the hospitals — all this will certainly make a great uproar in parliament, where heads are already much heated.

The nobler course would be to abandon their functions and give in their resignation of duties which they are no longer able to exercise with honour. This would greatly embarrass the Court, for the public being as dissatisfied as the parliament with the government, what would the Court do if it saw all the functions of justice abandoned, and the necessity before it of forming a new government?

[November 25.] Yesterday morning parliament assembled to listen to their president's report of his journey to Court, such as I have already related it. As soon as it was rendered each body assembled in its own Chamber; and then met again by deputies in the Hall of Inquests. M. Pignon de Quincy, dean of the grand chamber and of the whole parliament, then conveyed to the chief-president the decision of the Chambers which was as follows:—

“Monsieur, this assembly informs you that, the prohibition to deliberate being a suspension of all its functions, it neither can nor will continue any service.”

Thus here is the parliament of Paris, the great judicial mainspring of France, paralyzed since yesterday. These are not resignations, like those of 1732; the members keep their places, but will not exercise their functions, regarding them as interdicted by the king.

[November 26.] Here is a serious aggravation to the

affair of the parliament of Paris: the lawyers have assembled and agreed to mark their attachment to parliament by deserting all their functions; thus they will no longer appear before parliament or before any of the courts of Paris, not even at the council of the princes, on behalf of any one, no matter who; so that suddenly all administration of justice has ceased in Paris; and some persons predict that in all the courts of the kingdom this cessation will spread like a contagion.

The chief-president of parliament notified the ushers to open the Chambers the next day; they did so, but no one appeared. The law courts were closed all day, which caused consternation in Paris. The president and counsellors of parliament have agreed not to appear at the theatres during this cessation of service, considering themselves truly in mourning, in which pleasure as well as work is prohibited.

I learn that the day the dauphin and the dauphine went through Paris to Notre-Dame, as they passed the Pont de la Tournelle more than two thousand women were assembled in that quarter, who cried out to them: "Give us bread! we are dying of hunger." The dauphine trembled like a leaf. The dauphin called up Chazeron, who was on horseback in command of the guards, and gave him his purse to distribute money as he judged best, not daring to throw money in Paris without permission of the king; but when Chazeron had given a few louis the women cried out: "Monseigneur, we don't want your money; bread is what we want; we love you well; make them send away that prostitute who governs the kingdom and is destroying it; if we had her here there would not be enough left of her to make relics." I know this from a man who was in the carriage with the dauphin.

[November 28.] An Abbé de Prades has just been sup-

porting a theory before the Sorbonne against the chronology of the Book of Genesis, and doubting the miracles of Jesus Christ, or sustaining them only by the prophecies.

The Court has fallen into the greatest consternation at the course the parliament has taken, which alarms the government on account of the embarrassment into which it plunges them.

[November 29.] Yesterday, at four o'clock in the morning some mousquetaires carried a *lettre de cachet* from the king to each member of parliament commanding one and all to be in their Chamber at eight o'clock that morning to resume their functions under pain of disobedience. There was also an order to each to write his answer as to what he meant to do at the bottom of the *lettre de cachet*. The answers were various; some made no answer, others that they wanted to sleep, but most of them said they would obey. So there is little doubt that they will obey so far as going to their Chamber; but the interesting question is what they will do there.

[November 30.] Parliament obeyed; and the officers assembled, each body in its own Chamber, as commanded by the *lettre de cachet*; but they found no affairs to judge, for want of lawyers; consequently they did not resume their active functions. Between now and to-morrow (to-day being a festival) negotiations will take place, and perhaps the matter will be healed by the king sending them letters patent explaining how and why he forbade them to deliberate, and leaving them some considerable portion of authority in the hospitals.

[December 1.] The Maréchal de Noailles, giving his opinion in the Council on the affair of the parliament, said to the king that, having but a short time to live (owing to an internal malady by which he is attacked) he had nothing

to dissimulate or withhold; after this preamble he painted vividly the evils of the kingdom and the dangers that threatened it, as much from within as from without; judging therefrom that the advice of parliament should be better heeded; *hoc solo imitatus civem*. As for M. de Saint-Séverin, he gave his opinion like a crazy Italian without reflection or humanity, talked of decimating parliament and the clergy, treating these rebels as the Duke of Alba treated those of the Low Countries (a method which succeeded we know how); and as this opinion got told about Paris, it was said that if he appeared there and was recognized the people would tear him with their teeth; and that if there is a riot his house and those of MM. Berryer and de Machault will be sacked and burned.

I learn that the famous affair of Madame Sauvé turns entirely against the Duchesse de Tallard, governess of the royal children; it is thought that she may have forged the verses found in the prince's cradle, in order to express in that way all the evil she wished to say of Mme. de Pompadour. She used the Sauvé without taking her into her confidence, but Sauvé saw through it. Mme. de Tallard is hated by Mme. de Pompadour; her morals are very bad; she is a Messalina, haughty, imperious, and giving great cause of complaint to Mesdames de France when she governed them; malignant and evil-tongued, capable, they say, of what she is accused, which is so far only a suspicion. It will end, people tell me, in her forced retirement.

[December 3.] Parliament deliberated two days, in their separate Chambers and in the assembly Chamber; at last, yesterday at 3 o'clock it came to its conclusions, which will, I hope, end its quarrel with the king. The terms are these: registration, pure and simple of the letters patent from the king on the affair of the hospitals, and their own resumption

of functions; registration of the report of what took place at Versailles on the 21st of November, without approval of the Council; prohibition to all officers to remove the registers without permission of parliament in Chamber assembled; deputation to the king to inform him of their resumption of functions, adding that the removal of their minutes is a dangerous example; that it hopes the king will calm its just alarm, and take in good part that which it is obliged by *its position* to do for the interests of his service and the welfare of his people. Perhaps the king will refuse to listen to this deputation, which will not be wise; as for me, I counsel him to receive it well, and I quote to him the famous line of Terence:—

“Amantium iræ amoris integratio sunt.”

[December 14.] There is much stir about the arguments of a thesis sustained before the Sorbonne by the Abbé de Prades, one of the writers in the “Dictionnaire Encyclopédique,” and they say that that book is to be prohibited. The president of the session and the prior of the Sorbonne are to be censured for having signed the thesis without having read it. The document argues that it may be believed that the soul of man is not spiritual; that the soul of beasts perished with their bodies by the express will of God; which lays its author open to the suspicion of materialism; also that, without the prophecies which announce Jesus Christ, his miracles would no more prove the truth of his religion than the marvels of Esculapius and Apollonius of Tyre.

[December 17.] For the last few days quantities of cards have been scattered about the Palais Royal, in the portes-cochères of Paris, and on the staircases, bearing these words: “Cut down the king. Hang the Pompadour. Break

Machault on the wheel." These are signs of a meditated uprising, and also of hidden springs that are instigating it. Bread is dear, and getting dearer, and will get dearer still. All is to fear from fresh revolts — fury of the populace, pillage of houses, even the tearing to pieces of some of the ministers, if they do not keep out of sight as did M. Berryer two years ago.

It is not the populace alone in France who inveigh against royalty ; philosophy and nearly all men of study and *bel esprit* inveigh against our holy religion ; revealed religion is shaken on all sides ; and what still further inspires unbelievers is the efforts made by the devout, and especially by the Jansenists, to force a belief in it. They write books which no one reads ; no one disputes, every one laughs and persists in materialism. The devout get angry, call names, and want to establish an inquisition on writings and on speech ; they push things with injustice and fanaticism, which does more harm than good. This wind of anti-monarchism and anti-revelation has blown to us from England ; and as Frenchmen always outdo foreigners, they go farther and with more daring in this career of effrontery.

[December 21.] The fête at Versailles on Sunday was beautiful and gloomy ; a north wind rose at eight o'clock and put out part of the illumination. The gallery was much decorated and brilliantly lighted, but the lights seemed too high and made the women look old, for chandeliers at too great a height make the eyes sunken. There were not enough women, and too many men ; handsome clothes, but most of them old and well known. This shows the want of money among the courtiers, for the intention was to make a great display ; but the most noticeable of all was the change and gloomy sadness in the favourite, the Marquise de Pompadour. Something fatal was observed in it ; the king



Marie Leszczyńska
wife of Louis XV.

scarcely looked at her, and turned his back abruptly towards her the moment he saw her. The splendid jewels with which she was decked increased the appearance of change and disgrace, the cause of which is unknown.

Four thieves were caught in the gallery itself, two of whom were behind the dauphin when they were seen to pick his pockets. A new law condemns such thieves to be hanged for even the simple theft of a pocket handkerchief, if they ply their trade in a royal house; this is on account of their temerity, which by leading them to such actions might lead them farther, to an attempt upon the lives of royal persons.

[December 25.] There is a great storm against the Encyclopædical Dictionary,¹ and this storm comes from the Jesuits, there having been last winter a great quarrel between the authors of this book and the journalists of Trévoux. The Jesuits are like Italians; they plot their vengeance from afar, and with cruelty. What did they do against the authors of this great and useful book? They accused them of impiety; hence the accusations against the Sorbonic treatise of the Abbé de Prades, one of the Encyclopædists, in which there is not enough to whip a cat. It is certain that that treatise was received at first with applause; but the jealousy of the other licentiates started criticism at the end of four or five days; and these jealous men having urged upon the Jesuits that they ought to work against so inimical a book, from that moment a great clamour arose throughout Paris against the book and its supporters, which is believed without exam-

¹ "The Encyclopædia, an analytical Dictionary of sciences, arts, and trades, by a Society of men of letters," arranged by Diderot and D'Alembert; forming in its beginning twenty-eight volumes, in folio; 1751-1772. "The Universal Dictionary" and "Journal of Trévoux," so called because printed at the printing office of the principality of Dombes, of which Trévoux was the chief town, were begun in 1701 and 1704. — LITTRÉ.
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ination. It is true these theological matters are so delicate and so intricate that short of copying all the Holy Fathers, *de verbo ad verbum*, it would be difficult to explain the subjects of scandal to ignorant persons and men of the world.

[December 31.] I learn that the Abbé de Prades has been condemned on his famous treatise before the Sorbonne. He is obliged to retract; they have made him lose his present license, reserving the right to obtain another. They say that the Archbishop of Paris has prohibited his sacerdotal ministry until he retracts. Parliament will judge only in conformity with the dogmatic judgment, and there is talk of an exile by royal authority. Here then is a ruined man, for where can he betake himself? His terrestrial science remains to him, but he is a priest. He has been one of the workers on the "Encyclopædia." Now the Jesuits are determined to destroy that work, 1st, because it is not theirs and they want all famous books to emanate from them; 2d, because last winter there was a great quarrel between them and the makers of this work.

So the Jesuits, to satisfy their ambition and promote their tyranny, make a fine and noble work a pretext to accuse of irreligion all who do not agree with them. They will succeed; for whoso talks philosophically will be accused, and whoso talks theologically will be confuted by subtlety of ideas and language. What will come of all this? Religion in France will be lost through being forced to silence out of prudence (as under the Inquisition); the country will become ignorant and superstitious, and the Jesuits, grand Inquisitors, will rule everything.

[The Abbé de Prades was at this time hidden in the house of the rector of Saint-Sulpice at Favières, a parish in which the château de Segrèz, the Marquis d'Argenson's residence, was situated. From there d'Argenson facilitated his escape

to Prussia. At that time, under date of December 21, he wrote the following letter to his brother, Comte d'Argenson, to whom is addressed the dedication of the "Encyclopædia":

"The Abbé de Prades, my dear brother, has maintained a thesis before the Sorbonne which is making a great uproar. I know him to be a good ecclesiastic. He is one of the workers on the 'Encyclopædia.' Several of my friends wish me to recommend him to you, so that no harm may happen to him. He is submissive, and willing to retract on all that his superiors, ecclesiastical and secular, demand. But, as a man must always sacrifice himself for his honour rather than for his knowledge or his opinions, I send you a copy of certain letters which he has written, in which he deduces his reasons. He has pushed circumspection to the point of not defending himself before the public which condemns him, to whom, however, he might give good reasons.

"Let him hope in you, I beg of you. Adieu, my dear brother."]

[January 10, 1752.] The "Encyclopædia" continues to feel the Jesuit enmity. One of its principal writers told me that he had asked for the most rigid judges, but he was put off on all points; and that now there was no question of God, or of anything relating to divinity.

Nevertheless, the Sorbonne is embarrassed about condemning the thesis of the Abbé de Prades. He quoted the Fathers of the Church and the authorities, copying their very words into the articles that are now reprovèd. What is remarkable is that this thesis was received with great applause, and there was not a single black ball against the author; but four days later the jealousy of rivals and the hatred of the Jesuits against the "Encyclopædia" started the bitter criticism which has shouted impiety and imbued all Paris with the idea of it. Truth, in turn, may have its de-

fenders against envy, and the affair may still drag on. The Abbé de Prades will be condemned and retract, but a *lettre de cachet* will, they say, exile him. He is principally accused of having affected to lard his thesis with rash propositions calculated to cause scandal, a tone of materialism and irreligion which responds to the style of the philosopher of the century. They hate the philosophical taste for the natural which reigns to-day; evil to him who henceforth preaches it. Parliament wants even to use rigour, and talks of scourging the guilty! My friend d'Alembert is one of the most suspected; the encyclopædic work is threatened with prohibition; it is the lair, they say, of the men of this impious sect. Here's a fearful storm threatening the best writers of Paris, which is going to subject them once more to the Jesuits.

D'Alembert, secretary of the Academy, is one of my friends; parts of his work entitled "Mélanges" were composed by him at my country-house; the translations from Tacitus are of the number, also his "Discours préliminaire pour l'Encyclopédie," an admirable thing, which contains the analysis of all the sciences, "Dissertations," "Éloges," "Essais sur les Gens de Lettres," etc. The author therein shows himself free, poor, truthful, candid, happy, in short, and working for the happiness of others.

[January 16.] Mme. de Montboissier has been sent under a good guard to exile in a convent for having taken to magic. A certain M. Delafosse has made several ladies in Paris see and speak with the devil; he takes them into the quarries of Montmartre, where he performs his incantations. The Marquise de Béthune, sister of the Duc de Gesvres, put on her grand clothes and came to Court, where she has not been for twenty years, to ask for the release of M. Delafosse, who, she says, is the most honest man in the world.

The report is being spread through the public that Mme. d'Estrades has been poisoned by Mme. de Pompadour, who desired to get rid of her, suspecting that she was trying to substitute Mme. de Choiseul in the good graces of the king. To this it is objected that Mme. de Pompadour has never been known for bold and cruel instincts; the reply is that she has often declared she would poison herself if the king ever left her, and that she always carried on her person the means of executing that intention. But the rumour is credited in the cafés of Paris; hence Mme. d'Estrades is held up as a model of virtue and integrity, which she is not at all; and I would not give a pin for either prostitute.

[January 21.] The king has conceived a dreadful hatred against parliament; he cannot see any member of it without shuddering; the cardinal always told him that the whole body was Jansenist, and he believes that who says Jansenist says enemy to God and the king. Besides, he knows that in the last assemblies of the Chambers it was the younger members who made the uproar and insisted on boldness and vigour. Hence a bitterness which is felt on all sides, so that there is nothing reprehensible in the king's conduct that we shall not see parliament criticise at once and sharply.

In England they always attack the ministry for the evils of the government, never the king personally. Here, on the contrary, Frenchmen, more attached to persons than to things, for want of solidity of mind, attack the king in the first instance with much injustice, and oftener Louis XV. than any other, for if he had had a Sully he would have been a Henri IV.; but with dull, inhuman ministers such as his, he attracts to himself more and more, daily, a national hatred which I deplore.

[January 25.] The case of the Abbé de Prades has at last been settled, with the partiality inseparable from all

that our feeble government is concerned with to-day. He had fifty-four votes in his favour, the exact number of the men of sound judgment in the Sorbonne; these were of opinion that he ought to be heard in his defence, and, certainly, if they had heard him he would have been justified and proved innocent; it was only right and reasonable to have heard him; but eighty-two members decided to condemn him without hearing him. He is condemned to forfeit all his grades; the Faculty of Arts has even taken from him his title of master of arts, and he is declared forever incompetent to hold any rank in that Faculty.

[January 26.] There is news from Arles in Provence of a terrible revolt of the peasants, who came armed to the Hôtel-de-Ville to demand bread. They numbered two thousand, and as the magistrates, alarmed, promised them during several days relief, which they have not given, the peasants, better armed and in greater numbers than at first, have now threatened to destroy the bridge over the Rhone which separates Provence from Languedoc. In fact, they began to demolish it, when a detachment of guards, which was sent for, repulsed them. This is our unfortunate position through famine; the poor demand bread of the rich by force, and those who govern are forced to march troops to attack and punish the poor rebels for their misery! What would these poor people say could they see the magnificence, the profusion of the financiers in Paris! the sons of these men, getting the survivance of their fathers for the offices of finance, are flinging money with scandalous effrontery, and ruining themselves as much as, and more than, the young seigneurs. The brothers Villemer are building themselves little houses near Paris at a cost of five or six hundred thousand *livres*; one has forty saddle-horses on which to ride occasionally in the Bois de Boulogne; the other has just taken Mlle. Clairon

of the Comédie for his mistress, and made her gifts of the value of 20,000 crowns.

They write me from Touraine that the famine grows worse day by day, and that M. Savalette, intendant of that province, seems to get hardened to it. The seigneurs of Touraine tell me that, wishing to employ the inhabitants in local works by the day's labour, they found them so feeble that they could not work with their arms. The Archbishop of Tours has shown a very good example, and several other bishops and archbishops have followed his example; they have sold their silver plate and retired into their seminaries in order to assist their poor.

A book has lately appeared which is now forbidden and cannot be obtained. The title is: "What will be said of it?"¹ It is strongly republican; it vilifies the ministry of M. de Machault under affected eulogy and real sarcasm; it lauds and encourages the zeal of the parliament of Paris; it does more, it proves what it says; it is a book that the government prohibits with good reason for its own sake. The book is more than one-half excellent, one quarter mediocre, another quarter full of false reflections. Among the good is the following: "Happy the State whose king has no mistress, provided also he is not devout."

[January 30.] The Duc d'Orléans is dying. He preaches to every one he sees and those who surround him; he has

¹ "Mes Pensées," the anonymous work of La Beaumelle, with an epigraph, "What will be said of it?" which the printer turned into a second title. The author first printed it in Copenhagen in 1751 and sent fifty copies to his brother in Paris for distribution in January, 1752. This bold pamphlet made much noise, and a dozen editions were published in foreign countries from 1751 to 1780. It was at first attributed to Montesquien, Voltaire, Diderot, or d'Argenson. The latter, in his "Remarks on Reading," says: "I believe the writer to be Diderot, considering the turn of the phrases and the thoughts, very eager, involved, sometimes unintelligible, always lofty, but not always just." — FR. ED.

no regard for any but godly persons, and shows an aversion to men of freedom and pleasure, non-devout, however honourable they may be. The Duc and Duchesse de Chartres came to see him; he begged them to let him die in peace; but he told his daughter-in-law to sit down, reproached her for her bad conduct, and threatened her with the wrath of God.

That household will doubtless be in a bad state after the death of the father; the hatred of husband and wife is past reconciling; but the Duchesse de Chartres has as much firmness and intelligence as the duke has little of either, so that it is easy to see she will render him sovereignly unhappy in his domestic life. She does her best to set the other princes of the blood against him and take the favour of the king and mistress from him; in which she is aided by her mother, the Princesse de Conti, whose great passion is the abasement of the House of Orléans. Unfortunately the Duc de Chartres is incapable of either asking or executing good advice; he is surrounded by young men who are as frivolous as they are voluptuous and heedless.

[February 2.] Two of the great ladies of the Court had a fancy to see the devil and make him tell them their fortunes. The pretended sorceress lived in a remote quarter of Paris; the ladies left their carriage before the doors of a neighbouring church. The sorceress declared to them that in order to know what they wished and to enable them to see the devil, they must make themselves naked, which they did. The sorceress then locked them in, carried off their clothes, money, and jewels, and disappeared. The two ladies remained alone waiting; little by little they became uneasy, and presently made horrible outcries. On which the neighbours collected and sent for the commissary of police; the latter, breaking open the doors, saw the nude beauties, and supposing them to be wantons, was

about to take them off to the hospital. They were forced to make known their names and residences in order to send for their maids and other clothes. During that time the commissary covered them with his coat; he promised secrecy; but all Paris knows it to-day; one is the Marquise de l'Hôpital, and the other the Marquise de la Force.

[February 5.] The Duc d'Orléans died yesterday at ten in the morning. Immediately after, his son, the Duc de Chartres, went to Versailles to carry to the king his will, which is said to be full of bequests for the poor.

[February 8.] Madame Henriette is being nursed, having had fever for two days.¹ Madame Sophie also has it. Nevertheless the king is going to Bellevue this evening.

[February 9.] Madame Henriette's illness has so much increased that they think her in danger; more bleedings, emetics, the best doctors in Paris called in, etc. The whole Court is alarmed, and the king having shown his good paternal heart, every one echoes praises about it, and externally the courtiers are making known their false sensibility. The last news, however, is good.

The building of the École Militaire is entirely abandoned; they have just sold the horses and carts which were used to bring the stone.

[February 10.] Madame Henriette is very ill and there is very little hope of her recovery. Already she has asked for her confessor; Père Pérusseau, the Jesuit is there, exhorting her for death; the king is present at this fearful sight, which affects his heart and soul. The Duc d'Orléans when dying received a visit from the Duc de Villeroy, who came from the

¹ Twin-sister of Louise-Élisabeth, Infanta of Spain and Duchess of Parma; eldest daughters of Louis XV. Madame Henriette was deeply attached, as we have seen, to the Duc de Chartres, and his unhappiness in his marriage preyed upon her mind, and had something to do with her death. -- Tr.

king to inquire for him. The Duc de Villeroy has become devout, and he willingly took charge of a message from the Duc d'Orléans to the king, telling him to stand in awe of the terrible judgments of God. All this will contribute to make a great impression on the king and may make him devout.

[February 11.] Madame Henriette died on Thursday at midday. Word was immediately sent to close all the theatres, which abruptly put a stop to the afternoon pleasure of many persons who care little for this affliction. But the king's sorrow is extreme, and all that we now see foretells his piety.

At the same time fresh orders have been given to all confessors of the diocese to question their penitents on the Constitution Unigenitus; great and small, men and women, all must be questioned before the judgment-seat of repentance, and sent away if they do not receive that bull as a rule of faith. They have made every confessor swear to this (for they multiply oaths on all occasions); they question even the most ignorant, and those who are sincere can make no reply on a matter they do not comprehend. However, such persons can go to monks, who take away the practice from the regular priests and are not obliged to observe in the same manner the archbishop's order.

[February 14.] Yesterday morning an assembly of the chambers of parliament was held to consider the refusal of the sacraments to Mme. Hermant, widow of a lawyer who had spoken against the bull Unigenitus, so that she died without them. M. Piton, dean of the Court of Inquests, denounced this refusal. It was resolved to institute inquiries and obtain information as to the fact.

A decree of the Council has just appeared which no one foresaw. It suppresses the "*Dictionnaire Encyclopédique*" with shocking accusations of rebellion against God and the royal authority and of corrupting morals, all expressed in

obscure and very involved terms. It is said that the authors of the work, of which only two volumes have so far appeared, are to be immediately punished and information obtained against them. From this will follow a loss to France of a great number of men of letters very precious to the nation, who will be welcomed by our envious foreign neighbours; but what will still further follow, is the establishment of a true Inquisition, an inquisition of which the Jesuits will joyfully take charge, which they have long desired and will now exercise harshly. In this matter, we should notice that the professed Jansenists play an even viler part than the Jesuits. It is said of them that they want no tolerance except to themselves; and if they obtain charge of this inquisition they will carry it on with more inhumanity than the Jesuits; they are intolerant with fury, they hate, they suspect, they judge with acerbity all that they believe or imagine is against them; they are accused of behaving as to this with the base hope of recovering Court favour.

The president of the Chamber of Accounts tells me that his cousin, M. de Malesherbes, who has the department of libraries, is much grieved by the decree suppressing the "Dictionnaire" with such odious accusations. He had at heart the success of the work; he defended it against the critics, he had ordered its issuing to be delayed for the sole purpose of binding the volume, and here, suddenly, almost without his knowledge, comes the trenchant decree.

There is little doubt that the Jesuits will take up and continue the work to make amends to the subscribers; the publishers are already indemnified, having received from the public more than the costs of printing and engraving.

The Bishop of London has just issued a pastoral injunction against the treatise of the Abbé de Prades.

[February 19.] Since the death of Madame Henriette

everything seems tending to a change. The king is frightfully sad, and has a serious look which no one has ever yet seen in him. He remains, so far, inaccessible to business, and speaks of none, but they count on his beginning to work again the coming week. He sees himself overwhelmed with troubles of all kinds, in his person, in his kingdom. Yet his feelings and reflections are not turning to religion; those who observe him closely have seen no such result from the death of Madame Henriette, or from what he heard of that of the Duc d'Orléans; but all this compunction has gone to an increase of tenderness for his family; he now loves by preference that which he ought to love.

Madame Adélaïde inherits the love he had for Madame Henriette. He has just given her the apartment of the Duc and Duchesse de Penthièvre, with a private staircase by which she can come down at any time to the apartments of her sisters. He likes to be with the dauphine, who is again pregnant, and from whom he hopes a long masculine lineage. He seems to wish to make his society of his family only, like a good man and patriarch. Consequently all the influence of the Court and government seems to be turning that way.

Mme. de Pompadour is visibly uneasy; and if her influence is not at an end, it is at least shared and much weakened. It is conjectured that the king's trips will no longer be made alone with her and her friends, but that his family will take part in them. God grant that this change may be for the great good of the people! this will depend on the choice of ministers and the manner in which they are authorized and inspired by the king.

[February 20.] Alarm is felt as to the state of the king's health; his grief does not lessen in its effects. He looks changed in face, he grows thinner, and has the air of a man

weighed down by trouble. He knows what the people say of him, he insists that everything shall be reported to him; he knows that the populace cried out on the death of Madame Henriette: "This is what it is to offend God and make his people miserable! God takes from him his best-loved daughter."

[February 24.] The grand marble staircase at Versailles, called the staircase of the ambassadors, which was used for all ceremonies, has just been pulled down to enlarge the apartment which is being arranged for Madame Adélaïde; so no further ceremonies are practicable at Versailles, such as that of the chevaliers of the Order of the Saint-Esprit, reception of ambassadors, etc.

The apartment for Madame Adélaïde is to cost eight hundred thousand *livres*, and they are hurrying it with great activity. This expense is chiefly caused by the demolition of the grand staircase. Entrance will in future be by the salon of Hercules, and a new staircase will be built in front of the chapel. The king sacrificed the little gallery, and when this was done it was found that the whole wing would fall, and it has to be rebuilt, which brings the cost, as I have said, to at least eight hundred thousand *livres*.

The Sieur Diderot is the one among the authors of the "Encyclopædia" who is most accused of working against religion, royal authority, and morality. He has just taken flight, knowing that he would be arrested and a hand laid on his papers. They would find there, no doubt, many metaphysical writings; it is thought they might discover proofs that he furnished the materials for the thesis of the Abbé de Prades. Courtiers, Jesuits, Jansenists, and the other bigoted bodies persecute, one and all, the philosophers, who publish too loudly that men cannot believe that of which they have no idea or conviction.

[March 2.] They began yesterday to pull down the façade of Choisy on the courtyard side, with the little wings in which was the staircase. The king undertook his present trip to Choisy to have that destruction begun before him. Thus an affair costing several millions is begun. What can one say of this? Nothing good; it is self-will; it is braving the public which suffers the utmost penury; it is an exhibition of final impenitence against the necessity of good conduct and economy. And yet, all these things are done by a kind heart, a feeling heart, with some wisdom, but bravado and affectation rule it; honour is placed in yielding to no remonstrances, and in trusting no friends but those who affect intelligence in place of those who really have it.

It is calculated that from 1726, when Cardinal de Fleury began his ministry, to the present time the sum spent by the king on buildings amounts to three hundred and fifty millions, the whole to build rat-nests, to pull down and make over. The château de Choisy has been the chief scene of these variations; there is not a year in which they do not destroy to rebuild what will be changed again the following year.

[March 3.] It is held for certain that the Duc d'Orléans died without the sacraments of the Church, that is, without extreme unction; for he often confessed to his private and unknown confessor, and he went to receive the communion in the church; but being in bed the night before his death, the Archbishop of Paris went to him with his curate and some other persons, the Duc de Chartres being present; they exhorted him to recognize his grandson and granddaughter and to give them his blessing; he assured them that he would never recognize them, and could not go against his conscience. They refused him the sacraments to the end for this reason; the dying man replied that the

ministers of the Church might deprive him of that consolation, but that God would take account of him in another way. He died with those sentiments, and all present promised never to speak of it; but little by little great secrets transpire.

The Jesuit who preaches Lent this year, Père Dumas, preached before the king last Sunday a sermon on David and Bathsheba, and he thundered in a bold manner against the king's amours. The clique of the devout urged him on to this, but beware lest they be overturned in the end!

One of the receivers-general told me yesterday that there are eighty millions in receivers' notes on the market; and in order to conceive how this can be, it must be known that the king has forced the receivers-general to advance him a loan of fifteen or sixteen millions; moreover, payments are delayed because the people pay their taxes less well this year, and because to-day, when poverty and famine are so marked in the provinces, the king is squandering the money due in October, 1752, which is six months ahead. What will the receivers-general do? Where will all this lead? these are questions we put to one another constantly.

[March 20.] The dauphine is urged to the ambition of governing the king, by courtiers who seek their fortune through her; it was she who persuaded Madame Adélaïde to ask the king for the apartment she has obtained.

A very extraordinary adventure, which I am assured is true: Madame Adélaïde saw a young guard of the king, very handsome and very well-made; she sent him a beautiful snuff-box with this note inside: "Let this be precious to you; you will soon be informed of the hand from which it comes." The guard, much surprised, carried the snuff-box to his captain, the Duc d'Ayen. The latter told the king of the guard's adventure; his Majesty asked to see the box, and

recognized it as one he had given to Madame Adélaïde. He has given the guard a pension of 4000 *livres* under a promise that he will go for a long time to a distant part of the kingdom. One must expect such violent extremities on the part of a young princess twenty years old, strong and in good health like Madame Adélaïde.

The Bishop of Troyes declares he is ill and cannot pronounce to-day his funeral oration on Madame Henriette, which comforts every one, because the service will be much shorter. They have all been to see the catafalque at Saint-Denis, which is extremely elegant, white, and rose, and pale-green.

The Court can be defined as two parties: on one side the marquise, the Keeper of the Seals, and the three secretaries of State, not including him of the war department, my brother; besides these, the great Court families, except that of the Rohans, the favourites of the cabinets, and all the household service. On the other side are the Jesuits, numerous and skilful artisans of temporal and spiritual intrigues, enrolling under their banner the great and small who do their bidding as emissaries, and who make them more powerful hidden behind the curtain than if they actually and personally confessed a devout king. They have on their side my brother and my son, of whom they make *omen* and *præsidium*, their strength and support; also the chancellor Lamoignon, whom they put in office, and call "our chancellor." Père de la Tour, principal of the college of Louis-le-Grand, is the biggest wig of this terrible cabal; he has brought into it the Prince de Conti and the whole House of Condé; therefore the Jesuits may be regarded as masters of the princes of the blood. All the devout men and women at Court are Jesuits and hold to them by ties of spirituality and the other life. Add to this

all the bishops of France and the greater number of the second order of the priesthood. A man is no sooner called to the ministry of benefices, as was the Bishop of Mirepoix, no matter with what intentions of impartiality, than the Jesuits rush him into the greatest excesses for their party, and make a Père Tellier and a half of him; fanning the passion of vengeance and rousing in him the fear of being displaced unless he acquires their support. The Jesuits have supported the clergy in opposition to the late financial enterprises against their immunities; whereas the Jansenists, by the mistaken direction of their policy, affected in that affair to support the royal authority. Ah! how those Jesuits know what they are about, what they can do, what they must let alone, and what they must seize when it comes to them! My brother is indeed one of theirs, and knows as much as they, having learned all their maxims and improved upon them: soft-spoken tyranny, secret, mortal blows to heart and soul!

The English have understood the Jesuits well, and they are not more on their guard against wolves than they are against them; they know what they did under the Stuarts, and what they would do again if they gave them the least little entrance to their island. Yes, every man who wishes to bring up his son as a statesman ought to make him read all the books against the Jesuits.

[March 24.] Yesterday there was an assembly of the Chambers of parliament touching a new refusal of the sacraments by the rector of Saint-Étienne-du-Mont to an ecclesiastic named the Abbé Lemère, suspected of Jansenism. He was questioned, and on his answers they carried away the Host. The dying man summoned his rector to give him the sacraments, and was refused; parliament obtained the documentary evidence, and intends to make a great stand on

this case, and to be no longer the dupe of promises from the throne, but to put an end, once for all, to this schism.

[March 26.] Night before last parliament was in session till after midnight. The rector of Saint-Étienne-du-Mont was summoned and questioned. He said that he had refused the sacraments to the Abbé Lemère by order of the Archbishop of Paris. They then sent the clerk of parliament to invite the archbishop to take his seat in the Chamber; he answered that his pastoral functions prevented him from doing so.

Parliament then forbade the rector to repeat the offence, enjoining him to behave with more charity to his flock and to administer the sacraments to the Abbé Lemère within twenty-four hours.

[March 28.] It was to-day reported to parliament that the dying abbé had sent two more summonses to his rector to administer to him the sacraments, with a certificate from his doctor which proved the dying state of his patient.

A deputation from parliament was suddenly summoned to Versailles, where the king told them that "he was much displeased with his parliament for going so fast in this matter;" and the chancellor read them a decree of the Council quashing all that parliament had done against these refusals of the sacraments. Thus reprimanded, the Chambers assembled to deliberate on these proceedings of the archbishop and his ecclesiastics; which deliberations ended in sending the king's lawyers to his Majesty with new and pathetic representations as to the consequences of this schism.

[March 29.] Yesterday the king's lawyers rendered an account to parliament of his Majesty's reply. The king said that he was satisfied with the preceding deliberation and the resolve to send his lawyers to him; that he would give immediate and suitable orders to provide for the state of the

sick man, and that parliament ought to rely upon his love for religion and his attention to public tranquillity. In spite of these fine promises parliament has ordered that a report be made to it as to the condition of the abbé and whether the sacraments have been duly administered to him.

[March 30.] In spite of the king's promise that he would take upon himself that the sacraments should be administered to the Abbé Lemère, and in spite of the watchfulness of parliament, the abbé died yesterday at three o'clock without the sacraments. Immediately the Chamber held a session which lasted through the night till four o'clock this morning. It was resolved to request the king's lawyers to demand justice for this wrong; but the latter answered that, having heard from the king's own lips that he took charge of the affair and forbade parliament to take cognizance of it, they could do no more.

It is easy to foresee that the coming summer will be spent in struggles between the Court and the Law. Will parliament allow itself to be robbed of all that it has most at heart, namely: jurisdiction over the externals of the Church, the right of receiving appeal against abuses, the repression of great scandals — all things in which its authority identifies itself with the king (from whom it derives it); an authority over which it is its duty to watch. In this way it watches over the regulations of the Church and religion and protects the consciences of the faithful against the efforts of the ultramontanes and the bigots.

[April 10.] There is much talk of a speech, strong and affecting, which the chief-president of parliament made to the king two days ago. With tears in his eyes, he said: "Sire, *they deceive you*; it is time for you to see clearly; schism dethrones kings with less men than they have in their armies, which cannot maintain them."

[April 12.] I learn with great pain that the merit of the dauphin seems to diminish daily; no perseverance, no devotion, no industry, all mere fluttering; questions asked and the answers not listened to; air of studying and no study; a bad and stupid company surrounding him; nothing, nothing! Oh! how unfortunate this kingdom is!

[April 14.] The great news of to-day is that the Bishop of Luçon has appealed to the future Council against the bull *Unigenitus*. Considering the evils it has done to the kingdom and is doing more and more down to the present time, he explains that his course is necessary. His family name is Verthamont.

Two young Benedictines went to the Archbishop of Tours to receive the order of priesthood. The archbishop wished to exact from them a promise in writing that they would require from every layman who had recourse to their ministrations an acceptance in full of the Constitution *Unigenitus*. They rejected this constraint upon their conscience and withdrew.

VII.

1752—1753.

[APRIL 16.] Yesterday morning parliament was summoned by deputies to Versailles; there they gave in their remonstrances, which cover twenty-two pages. Then the king went hunting in the Bois de Boulogne; after which there was a meeting of the Council of Despatches, and the king was to decide on his answer to parliament. I am told there is no doubt that it will be threatening and very severe. The remonstrances are said to be very fine; they begin by a profession of faith, written by the best pens, supported by many proofs of renewed schism and fanatical exhortations, and they end by stating that until the jurisdiction of parliament is acknowledged and its right of remedying abuses is free it cannot continue its judicial functions.

The lawyers work no longer, not even in their offices, nor in any of the courts. Several of the parliaments of the kingdom have written to the parliament of Paris assuring it that they will follow the same course in order to prevent schism, for they are very weary of what is being done in the provinces by malignant parish priests.

All things thus combining, the parliament of Paris has nothing to fear; the entire nation is seen to oppose an unreasonable and arbitrary will, and the parliaments are at its head. People wonder to see the government favouring the fanaticism of the bishops, after having endeavoured to crush their temporal immunities.

[April 18.] I have read the remonstrances of parliament, dated the 15th of this month. They are long, fine, and of the greatest force. When printed, I have no doubt they will make a great impression on the public mind. They may be compared to the harangues of the Romans in the tribune when appealing from the public power to the people. Parliament begins by defining the bull *Unigenitus*; it shows that it cannot be made a rule of faith because it has undergone modifications by order of the late king, and that its acceptance is inseparable from the explanation of the forty bishops; it quotes to the king various decrees of his own reign which attack the bull. In short, the tone is wholly Jansenist, as it is called, and puts a stigma which will long remain upon the bull, which is now weakened for some time to come; instead of advancing it is shoved back, for the general consensus of parliament is a very considerable thing in public affairs.

[April 19.] The answer of the king to parliament is very wise, and the best he could have made to get himself out of the bad position in which he was placed. He declares that he has already punished those who preach fanaticism; he invites parliament to continue to point out to him acts of schism which come to its knowledge, declaring that he does not take from parliament the cognizance of these matters, but he reserves to himself the right to watch over them and check them by better authority than notorious proceedings. His Majesty expresses the wish to stop schism and prevent it; he orders, and will again order silence on matters which ought to be stifled, and which he trusts will be stifled. And he declares that he has guided these matters for several years successively, during which no one ever heard of them.

[April 21.] The Bishop of Mirepoix has fallen ill of vexation; he has a strong fever.

The bishops are preparing to write vigorously against a parliament which blasts the Constitution. A session of the Council of Despatches was held night before last to take into consideration the decision of the king; it is thought to be a question of changing it. On the other hand, I know that many of those who surround his Majesty talk to him continually of how he has regained the love of his subjects by tolerance in matters of religion, and how the State is torn by these villanous, vindictive, and ambitious priests; they promise him, and justly, a long and happy life and the end of the mortal weariness and miserable turbulence caused by the bull *Unigenitus*.

[April 22.] Yesterday came news by a courier that the whole of the lower classes in Rouen were in a state of horrible revolt. The affair began by a woman buying some pounds of cotton and finding it much dearer on account of new duties; the clerk of the customs being called in, she boxed his ears, and he struck her in return, which roused the populace, until a crowd of eight thousand collected and there was much killing, for the Norman people are extremely dangerous; they pillaged three large magazines of wheat which the king was holding in reserve for the provisioning of Paris. This is the wheat that was brought from England at such cost; this pillage may make bread dearer in Paris.

[April 24.] The Archbishop of Paris declines to concur with the king in removing the rector of Saint-Étienne for refusing the sacraments; thus he will have to be exiled or imprisoned by royal authority. The question is whether the Court will conduct itself in this matter on principles, with consistent action. Certainly, the Council is divided. The Keeper of the Seals, seconded by Mme. de Pompadour and a large party, favours clemency and good sense towards what they now call Jansenism. The rest of the ministers, with

the Jesuits and the bullists, incite the king to irritation against parliament. It is to be feared that the decision of the throne will be for this second party. A half-way course would be very fatal in so delicate an affair; it would give to the sceptre all the appearance of the reign of Henri III. before the League.

But this Molinist party is soft-spoken and is careful; it watches the eyes of the king; it feels his pulse, and will not push him unless it is safe to do so.

There are fanatics on both sides; those of Jansenism have had religion and conscience as principles; those of Molinism have only ambition and tyranny. It is true that among the latter the stupid ones have become fanatical from conscience; they are the most foolish, but also the greatest firebrands, frantic for Rome against their own country. They are certainly dangerous, but they can be led and brought under by the knaves who command them.

[April 28.] The revolt is over at Rouen within the city, but the country is everywhere in rebellion. Sixteen thousand armed Normans are roaming it and putting the convents and châteaux under contribution of great sums of money. Thus the government will be forced to march troops there, as it did to Provence. Poverty, want of bread and of money are the cause; and they are beginning to fear that the earth will not yield this year on account of the great drought.

Through these miserable circumstances and the state of affairs between church and parliament, the king has fallen into deep melancholy, though he affects some outward gaiety. He has even joked about the revolt of Rouen, but in the interior of his society he is overcome with grief from which nothing can draw him. His Majesty sees no remedy in a change of ministry.

Mme. de Pompadour arrogates to herself the honour of having brought the king out of the horror others had inspired in him for the Jansenists. Thus several things are happily combining to make him continue in his present excellent course of peace and tolerance; but I see members of the ministry who continue to urge him to very different resolutions.

A flattering epigram on the Marquise de Pompadour has just appeared which compares her to Agnes Sorel, who drove the English from France, and congratulates our beautiful Agnes on being destined to drive away another national pest, the Jesuits.

The king asked the Maréchal de Noailles the other day why his hatred and passion in persecuting the Jansenists (so-called) had lasted so long. The old minister related to him the history of the Constitution Unigenitus, in which his uncle had borne a part, and asked his Majesty very humbly to forgive him for *having misled him*, as he had done. The Archbishop of Tours has also retracted his orders given at the last ordination to the new priests, charging them to exact a promise from all faithful persons of submission to the bull.

[May 3.] The news in Paris is that for the last few days the royal treasury is closed except for two mornings in the week until eight o'clock only; and during that short time the rush of people and carriages makes the difficulty of obtaining money very plain; it looks, they say, like royal bankruptcy. The king now requires not less than sixty millions to put his current affairs in a merely tolerable condition; and where can he borrow them? He has no credit. A sad ministry this of M. de Machault, after four years of peace!

[May 7.] Mme. de Pompadour and some of the ministers

have solicited d'Alembert and Diderot to continue the *Encyclopædia*, resisting all temptation to touch on matters of religion or authority. I have conferred with one of them, and he has proved to me the impossibility for learned men to write unless they write freely. Through philosophy we are advancing in France more and more in metaphysics or religion, in legislation or government. The English, and those who write to-day in the States of the King of Prussia, have written, and do write and print what they choose; their discoveries of all kinds are enlightening the world, and, reaching us Frenchmen who are eager and penetrating; we are to-day advancing in philosophy and possibly going farther than others, though with less communication of ideas. It results from this that for our philosophical savants of the first order who wish to write on these matters, independence and dignity must be secured, or else nothing at all, under peril of falling into commonplaces and dull sermonizing. This has proved to me the impossibility of doing to-day what could be done formerly; and also how the government, frightened by bigots, has become more inquisitorial, more captious, more petty on matters philosophical, so that to-day they will not even tolerate the metaphysical books of the Abbé de Condillac, which were permitted a few years ago. I yielded to these reasons.

They have just taken away from M. Fréron the license for his periodical paper, on account of the last number, in which he maltreated Voltaire to excess: criticism good; satire not.

[May 13.] The Bishop of Luçon (Verthamont) having quarrelled violently with the Jesuits, they are now representing him at Court as insane; having become so for love of his niece (old, ugly, and devout), and from being deprived of this niece, whom M. de Mirepoix has compelled to remain in a convent in Paris. The ministry say that he was insane

when he appealed to the future Council against the bull *Unigenitus*; nothing could be more false; he is very sane and reasonable, but unreasonably oppressed. How will he convince the public of this?

I have heard most deplorable things of the government, fit to make one despair. The king feels the misfortune of it and will take no part. He said to some of his confidants: "I shall let them do as they please, provided only they leave me a few horses to ride." He cannot perceive the one expedient; which is to take a prime-minister,—a means which rendered him happy in youth for twenty-eight years. The favourites turn him away from this idea, but what could they really say in answer to reasons for his taking this sole expedient?

Not knowing what to do about the Constitution and the quarrels concerning it, he has despatched a courier to Rome to ask the advice of the pope.

[May 31.] Here I am at my country-place for a long sojourn.

We have just had three new volumes of the "*Memoirs of the Abbé de Montgon*," which will be followed by several others. In reading them one is more and more disgusted with monarchical rule on observing that of Spain. We are going straight to that species of government, if philosophical opinions do not soon come to lift us out of ignorance. Children oppressed beneath unjust and stupid tutors, that is what the people of an absolute monarchy are. From this cause, Spain has become a nothing, and we are falling below that nothing by our negligence and the absurd actions of our kings. Spain ought to be to us what drunken valets were in the education of the young Spartans; they should show us the excess of absurdity of which I speak. In Spain, ignorance still restrains the people and keeps them from

reasoning. In France we were long treated in the same way, but now, behold! in this reign, our opinions are beginning to struggle forward in consequence of our nearness to England. Now, opinion governs the world. Therefore, how will it pronounce upon this question in the future: Will despotism increase or diminish in France! As for me, I believe in the coming of the second, and even in republicanism. I have seen in my day the respect and love of the people for royalty diminish. Louis XV. has not known how to govern either as a tyrant or as a good head of a republic; and if a ruler can take neither the one nor the other rôle, sorrow to royal authority! If I am asked where are the leaders of a real party, I answer that they are in the parliament of Paris.

[June 4.] My house is near the high-road to Orléans, which they are improving through restlessness, and at the cost of humanity. M. Trudaine, intendant of finance, a hard man who has lost his virtue through pride, orders high-roads like a tyrant, in all directions. At Étampes they have just cut through a hillside to enter the town by a few furlongs less of distance. The work is done by *corvée*, and what expense there is, is not paid. At Arpajon they have hollowed a road at great cost to avoid a cemetery. The Comte de Noailles, who protects that town, being its seigneur, put all his influence to the preservation of the cemetery, and by so doing has caused the demolition of forty houses; but no one is indemnified for that destruction.

[June 7.] They write me from Court the rumour of an event which I certainly never expected, namely that I am to be appointed governor to the Duc de Bourgogne, and that this choice is approved in advance by all honourable persons. This testimony has its charms, however absurdly founded.

I know that intrigue, first, and etiquette, second, contradict the idea. But our monarch loves his family; why should he not wish to bring up his grandson better than he was brought up himself, or than his son was by Cardinal de Fleury? There are sentiments that ought to be inspired in the hearts of these heirs of a crown, of which few courtiers know the secret. They must be made to love God, made to despise priests, made to drive bishops from Court; they must be shown that a crown merely constitutes them agents of the nation, ever solicitous for its good, and its greatest good; their hearts must be inspired with tenderness for the unfortunate, and with less care for the prosperous; they must take nothing from the latter, but treat them with simple justice; they must not love the nobles better than the people; and then, only so far as they are virtuous; and they should prefer the poor nobles to the rich ones; and finally a king's son should be taught to respect his king and give him only comfort and pleasure. Such a governor should hold up Titus as a model to his pupil, and make him read the history of good kings to excite him to imitate them, and that of bad ones to cause him horror. And he should, and could even at a Court, attach him more to inward successes than to artificial shows of pedantry and gravity such as I have seen the Maréchal de Villeroy and the Duc de Châtilon instilling into their pupil.

[June 24.] A certain Gauthier, a protégé of the Maréchal de Belleisle, has discovered and perfected the means of unsalting sea-water for long voyages. He carries on vessels certain matter having only a fiftieth of the volume and weight of fresh water. An agent had arranged with the minister of the marine for the reward he asked, and he was working with the farmers-general on the matter, when he went one evening to the house of one of them; he sent his

son and a friend in his carriage to wait for him by the garden of the Palais-Royal; but he never came, and has disappeared. M. de Belleisle received an anonymous letter telling him not to feel troubled, that "his life is safe, provided he keeps his engagements." On which it is suspected that the English, always jealous of our discoveries in commerce, have kidnapped him.

[June 25.] The Maréchal de Richelieu holds himself more aloof than ever, awaiting more favourable times to play a rôle. His conduct is very prudent; he appears very seldom at Court, never speaks to the king unless the occasion arises, knowing him better than any one; he detests and despises the ministers who govern the State and the king; he acts without appearing to do so.

[July 6.] The king allows himself to hunt five times a week at Compiègne, where the dauphin and dauphine have permission to come for three weeks only. The dauphin insisted on going, and on being present at the Council of Despatches. He is strongly pushed and governed by the party of the bigots, which at Court is no other than that of Molinism. They strengthen themselves by him; they make him obstinate, and render him odious among the people whom he is some day to govern — a general animadversion which distresses me not a little. He has taken an aversion to a quantity of persons, and likes few; he specially includes in that feeling the Maréchal de Belleisle, whom he regards as a very dangerous man, who was fatal to the kingdom in 1740.

[August 24.] I spent yesterday at Versailles and the following is what I picked up: They think that the Marquis de Mirepoix will be appointed governor to the Duc de Bourgogne, a choice much approved in advance. The Duc de Chaulnes failed in getting this appointment on account

of his bigotry, his want of mind, and a certain pedantry in place of knowledge.

The king is gnawed with grief, and sometimes sinks into it in a way to alarm those who are about him. Four days ago, when hunting at Chatou, he was extremely out of sorts; absorbed and gloomy like a man meditating some stroke, such as sending away the marquise, or taking a prime-minister in view of all the great embarrassments of his government — finances, funds, parliament, Church.

Meanwhile Mme. de Pompadour rules all. My brother said aloud before me that he could no longer reward merit, for Mme. de Pompadour snatched from him all the places there were to give. She believes herself queen; she seems to have dreamed it some night. She said lately to the foreign ministers: "Here are several Tuesdays coming when the king will not be able to see you, for I hardly suppose, messieurs, that you will come to *us* at Crécy!" That *us* assimilates her to the queen; people laugh mightily at such speeches.

The Court is much disturbed and embroiled; nothing is respected. The marriage of the son of the Duc de Chaulnes with Mlle. Alexandrine, Mme. de Pompadour's daughter, is granted. There was some question two days ago whether the king should or should not go to Paris to the Te Deum at Notre-Dame, dreading the bad reception of his people; but at last some honest persons made him resolve on that act of courage and their Majesties are to go on Sunday.

Mme. de Pompadour has more influence over the king than ever and boasts of it; she is, as they say, Cardinal de Fleury and a half. My brother tells any one who will listen to him that she carries off all the offices he intended for men of merit.

[August 27.] The rumour is increasing only too fast that

the king is concerned in the sales of wheat; and as the price increases daily in spite of an abundant harvest, the effect of these rumours is very dangerous for the government. People declare there will be great monopoly of wheat, and I believe it, because this new company for provisioning the kingdom will no doubt endeavour at the earliest moment to buy up or engage all the wheat it can, pressed by superior orders and by its own interests. Add to this the wrong principle that I have heard so much talk of, namely: that wheat ought to be kept up to a fixed price so that the farmer may pay both his landlord and the king. Oh! what a false point of view and how dangerous! for the greatest abundance and the cheapest price for necessary provisions is the first of principles; but, until the present time, the principle has been left in theory, and this is how they are now going to put it in practice! It is plain that the government is intending to make itself the ruler of the price of provisions. If it rules badly, it is lost.

From this, I begin to think what I have delayed to think as long as I could, namely: that M. de Machault is making resources for the king by a great gain in wheat; urged to it by the financiers who surround his Majesty, and by the friends of the marquise; they conceal from him the monopoly under a pretence of the public welfare. Whether he is or is not acting in good faith, these people will make great gains, they will be allowed to do so, and their gains will be shared. But the effect of all this will be very dangerous; already public opinion is roused. The revolts at Rouen, and even the complaints of the parliament of Paris turn on this. We may be certain that parliament will be for the people, and that it will make examples of all those who are concerned in a monopoly so terrible.

[August 31.] Sunday last the king, the queen, and the

dauphin went to Paris to thank God in Notre-Dame for the dauphin's recovery from the small-pox. They had lowered the price of bread in the markets on Saturday in order to obtain a good reception for their Majesties. Notwithstanding this, a poor man clung to the queen's carriage, and showing her a bit of black bread, cried out: "See, Madame, what they make us pay three sous a pound for!" The queen sent him back to the king and ordered her guards to take his name and bring him to her later that she might assist him. The king changed horses at the Petit-Cours, where a few idlers cried out, "Vive le Roi!" but in Paris no one did so.

[September 9.] The bad results of our despotic monarchical government is convincing France, and also all Europe, that it is the worst of all species of government. I hear philosophers say, as if convinced of it, that anarchy would be preferable, because at least it leaves his property to each individual, and that whatever troubles, whatever violences might come, they would injure a few individuals only, and not the whole body of the State as now. We see this in broad day under the present reign: a gentle prince, but of no energy, letting things go, till abuses, begun through the pride of Louis XV., are necessarily leading to the destruction of the kingdom — no reformation, although it is so necessary; no ameliorations; choice without intelligence, prejudices without examination; in these ways all is tending more and more to national ruin; all things are falling to pieces; and private passions burrow their way beneath the surface to undermine and destroy us.

Certainly there is less violence to-day, and that is a great point; but the secret progress of vice is a detriment not less certain to society, to virtue, to the national strength. Now, the same dim, effeminate, and prejudiced nature which has

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ruled for evil so far will only render all remedy more and more impossible. And yet, public opinion advances, rises, enlarges, and may be the beginning of national revolution.¹

Two medallions very well engraved as prints have just appeared. One is called "The Judgment of Solomon," in which the good mother is shown preferring to lose her son rather than see him cut in twain; the false mother wishing it. Her name is Schism. The good mother is the Court of Rome, which does not desire schism under the present pope. It is true that the silence of Rome on the present matter proves that the Jesuits restrain the pope from speaking, but it is also true that if they would let him speak he would justify parliament.

The other medallion, entitled "Antipathy," represents a young councillor of petitions who was the first to give an opinion for the supremacy of parliament in this matter; he is being received favourably by the Saviour of the world, while the Archbishop of Paris is being caressed by the demons of heresy. Parliament condemned this second print to be burned, also a "Letter to the Jesuits" which was very insulting.

¹ The day on which the above was written the following article appeared in the "Gazette de France" (1752, p. 460): "The Marquis d'Argenson, former minister and secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, gave on the 8th at his château of Segrèz a very beautiful fête of rejoicing at the recovery of Monseigneur, the dauphin. The illumination of the château and gardens presented a striking coup-d'œil; that of the canal and the cascade were particularly admired. There was also a magnificent display of fireworks, the execution of which was as perfect as the design was ingenious. The pyrotechnist had so arranged effects that, by various degrees introduced into the brilliancy and shades of the fireworks, they seemed to express in some sort the different emotions of anxiety and joy which the illness and convalescence of Monseigneur have made the whole nation experience. This fête gained additional lustre from the extraordinary influx of spectators, who went out to Segrèz to witness it."

The above gloomy predictions, written on the morrow of this monarchical manifestation is a curious sign of the times. — FR. ED.

A pamphlet of sixteen pages 8vo, printed furtively and entitled "Advice of a Theologian to the Nineteen Bishops," shows that the episcopate, by its conduct on the Constitution Unigenitus, acts to-day as the great enemy of the Church and State.

[September 20.] People say that the increase of influence of the royal family over the king is very bad for Mme. de Pompadour. She deceived herself about it in the beginning, thinking that it was a matter of no consequence. But, little by little, she has seen the king take a liking to talk with his children and decide with them on a number of matters. Madame Adélaïde, the eldest, gains more influence daily, and says to the king, "We will do this or that," and not, "Will it please you, Sire, that this be done?" The king is fonder of the infanta, Madame Louise-Élisabeth, than of his other children. They all say openly, "Maman p" in speaking of the marquise. It is thought that the great stroke of sending her away will be struck at Fontainebleau. The king is stunned by the judgments of God, and if the dauphin had died of the small-pox the fate of the marquise was sealed; she would certainly have been sent away as the cause of God's wrath upon the kingdom.

[September 25.] On the 14th of September the English began to use our new style for the calendar. On the 6th of the month an awful storm fell upon the coasts of England and several parts of Europe. Many vessels perished.

The prize offered by the Academy of Bordeaux had for its subject: "True philosophy is incompatible with irreligion." A false and ill-digested thought.

[October 3.] There is question of a bank operation which will procure for the king (without the help of parliament) about thirty millions, and will cost him seven or seven-and-a-half per cent interest. M. de Machault having pro-

posed this to the king, his Majesty told him to communicate it to Montmartel [Pâris-Montmartel], and the latter has conferred with his brother Duverney about it. Montmartel rendered an opinion to the king in private; telling him that the scheme would give him a respite for a few months, but that the kingdom was crumbling at its foundations. The dismissal of M. de Machault seems certain, inasmuch as it has now become absolutely necessary. The order to communicate his scheme to Montmartel caused natural surprise.

Pâris-Duverney, whom I saw yesterday, describes M. de Machault as a man who shoves time by the shoulder, hoping to get out of his office of controller in good order and keep the Seals only, with his seat in the Council. Mme. de Pompadour is alarmed because, having always supported him, she may be shaken by his fall.

Those who observe the king closely say that often his Majesty shows extreme anxiety and uneasiness, then some dissipation intervenes and makes him absolutely forget everything that has made him anxious. On the last trip to Crécy it escaped him to say: "They used to call me the 'well-beloved;' I am now the well-hated." *Video meliora, deteriora sequor.*

It is not true that they have restored to Duverney the management of the building of the École Militaire; he having quitted that enterprise they asked him to return to it, but the care and direction of the building remain with M. de Vandières. To-day he proposed a meeting of sixty gentlemen at Vincennes to begin operations, but it was found that all the funds from the tax on cards were already spent on the buildings, and that the wages of the workmen amount to 40,000 *livres* a year. Yet Duverney has advanced, from himself or his friends, two millions, on which he has to pay

interest ; consequently, he desires to quit the whole affair and abandon it.

The said Duverney is to send me a memorial he has made the king accept, for the re-establishment of agriculture in France. He proposes to make districts, village by village, of uncultivated lands, and to give them for fifteen years to whoever will clear and reclaim them, which would go far. He says that wheat is lacking to feed the people because less is cultivated in these days than formerly ; yet poverty has reduced the people to eat only bread.

[October 17.] The Marquise de Pompadour being ill with a cold and fever, the king, to console her, has just given her a brevet of honour at Court, such as Mme. de Montespan had in the days of Louis XIV., without the title of duchess. She had been told she should be made a duchess when she was pregnant, but she is not that, for they have bled her in the foot and she is cured.

[October 20.] Mme. de Pompadour has taken her *tabouret*, being presented by the Princesse de Conti, as she was on her first appearance at Court.

As a result of postponing payments and the impossibility of meeting even the most urgent, the royal treasury has fallen into absolute indigence. I know that on the journey to Fontainebleau, which still lasts, money has been lacking for many things, such as keeping the queen's household going. The money was promised, but was not forthcoming ; the treasurer has borrowed on his credit as long as he could, but finally he can get no more ; the coachmen refuse to drive ; the grooms are asking alms.

Forty thousand workmen in the gun manufactories at Saint-Etienne-en-Forez are out of work. They are closely watched for fear they should go to foreign countries. The silk-weavers are still guarded in the same way at Lyon, and

their only help is charity. These things must have some end.

The finance expedient so much talked of for the last month has just been made public by a decree of October 17, and it may be said to be miserable. It consists of a loan to the king himself of twenty-two millions five hundred thousand francs. On this resource they base an expectation of more punctual payment of expenses. Not only will it not suffice for what is now unpaid, but they ought to be able to see that nothing could succeed worse than such an operation. The king makes a pretext of the public benefit of hastening the payment of debts. The benefit that the finances really find in this is that no registration by parliament is necessary; it is a simple banking operation, and it was Verzure, a banker, who gave the idea. But it should be observed that the State is without resources, for if this operation fails it knows not where to look. And it will fail, like the speculation of an insurance company in which no one insures. They never cease talking at Court of the extreme want of money. I saw yesterday two of the principal officers of the king's household, who told me that nothing was paid, not the most urgent claims nor the most trifling expenses.

[November 7.] Mme. de Pompadour has added to her arms the ducal mantle, and the velvet hammer-cloth to her carriage, in virtue of the brevet of honour at Court just granted to her. This brevet was partly given on account of a malicious trick played upon her by the dauphin, in keeping her standing for a very long time.

I am assured that the following anecdote of what happened last spring is true. When the deputies of parliament were summoned to Marly, the king spoke harshly to them, but after they had retired the king sent for the president and

spoke to him in private for three minutes. The secret has been well kept, but it now transpires that his Majesty said to him: "Go your own way; I shall seem displeased, but I shall be very glad." And since then parliament has gone its own way, and the Court has let it do so. The Maréchal de Noailles told a confidential friend that he had related to the king the whole history of the Constitution Unigenitus, and how he himself, the very first, had misled him in that affair, so that the king has now entirely changed his mind about it.

[November 10.] Another affair of the sacraments. The Châtelet [court of justice of the parliament] being particularly charged to do its duty in these matters, had an occasion to do it in the case of one of its members. Mme. Benoît, wife of a counsellor of the Châtelet, has the small-pox and is very ill. They sent to Saint-Jean-en-Grève, her parish church, for the sacraments. As she was thought to be very Jansenist, the bearer of the Host made difficulties and asked the name of the confessor who had absolved her. The husband would not tell it. The Host-bearer then refused to go. The husband went to the Châtelet, which issued a writ against the priest. The husband then went to the vicar, the rector being absent; the vicar saw the rights of it, and to avoid new difficulties with the Host-bearer (the patient getting worse) he carried the sacraments himself. The Archbishop of Paris summoned the vicar before him, asked him what he meant by such disobedience to orders, and suspended him from his functions.

Wages are no longer paid to the king's household. It is declared that the salaries of the Council will be paid only once in three years, and those of the public bureau, once in five years. Yet the ballets at Court cost enormously; they give new clothes to all the actors; the "Devin de Village"

cost more than fifty thousand crowns. The affair of the twenty-two millions seems a failure; no one takes a loan.

[November 18.] I have just spent a day at Versailles; I found every one preoccupied about the coming Council on Tuesday, November 21; all other events are abandoned for that. At this Council, the fate of the bull *Unigenitus* will be decided, also the course to follow with the parliament of Paris. I had conversations with some of the ministers, and I own that their perplexity gave me much myself on an event which my patriotism makes me regard as if it were my own personally. Our officious Molinists pretend that it is by their ability that the ecclesiastical thunderbolts are withheld. I also found that the ministry are stirring the king's conscience against what they call meddling with ecclesiastical matters; they are trying to make him believe that the external affairs of the sacraments do not belong to him — though a great emperor claimed with truth that he was the external bishop — and that Jesus Christ said that his kingdom was not of this world. I made as much use as I could of what I know with great solidity on this point. But they continue to represent to his Majesty that his religion and his authority both demand that he should force the reception of the bull *Unigenitus*, an enterprise begun more than thirty-eight years ago.

In what I heard said that was least unreasonable on this matter, was there fear, or affectation? Truly, I think there was both; certainly there was ignorance, for I saw traits of it that were incomprehensible in men who have such part in the government. They see nothing but precipices to right and left of them, and they frighten the king with them. I found him changed and sad; he is shaken by these contending sides, for there is great division in the Council; and it all increases at the prospect of parliament

which assembles on the 29th. The bishops are sustained by some ministers, by the chancellor, and by the royal family, especially by the dauphin, whose opinion, too much regarded, is an evil in the State.

The ministers told me that the king would almost never work with them, for which reason nothing is ever finished. I told them why, namely: that the want of money and the division among them made the king dislike to work with them; our monarch is a gentle bird, but easily frightened; and the fear they have of him is the very thing that inspires in him a fear of them: fearing to take anything upon themselves they carry everything to the king to decide, and the king fears as much to deceive himself as to be deceived in matters that are going so ill.

[November 29.] They write me from Court that in the Council of Tuesday, November 21, my brother's advice was overruled, and that the opposite party has prevailed; the king being inclined to moderation in the affairs of the Church, being fearful of schism. I saw with pain my brother and my son fling themselves into a discussion which can only trouble the public and make the king uneasy. Enmities blind men and make them rush into compromising intrigues. Thus M. de Maurepas, seeing himself threatened with dismissal, bolstered himself up with supports which ended by compromising him; and thus I see to-day my son and brother looking to the dauphin, the royal family, the Jesuits, the bishops, to sustain them, though it may lead both of them to disgrace and dismissal and is opposed to the real sentiments of the king.

The bishops are very discontented with the decree of the Council of March 21, for it leaves to the tribunals the very duties that they claimed were theirs, to deal with all schism on the bull *Unigenitus*. The king in Council adopted this

course mildly; but the dauphin redoubled his indiscreet fervour for the priestly side, and raised to the clouds all those who joined in the superstition.

[December 23.] Here are the passions of the king and the mainspring of the government: "Let me sleep; leave me to repose; let me have peace, but no dishonour; let me go to my country-houses, my little pleasures, my habits, a few buildings, a little knowledge, some curiosity, some researches, which I think are not very costly. Let me have peace at Court, in the kingdom, and with my neighbours; I should be glad to obtain some glory that would not give me any trouble; I would like the old accustomed order of things, without examination, and the religion of the country." Morpheus reigns, or rather a beauteous idler with solid flesh and flaccid soul; good men are fashioned thus by Heaven, without vices and without virtues.

The Maréchal de Richelieu returning to Court from Languedoc, fell ill by the way and came near dying. He will be a strong reinforcement to the vivacity of parliament.

[December 24.] Desertion increases more and more among our troops, and at the same time recruiting is more difficult; coin is lacking, people say, while the price for enlisting grows higher. They count more than 30,000 men shot for desertion since the peace of 1748.¹ They attribute this great desertion to the new exercise, which fatigues and disheartens the soldiers, especially the veterans. The latter thought themselves well-trained and brilliant with the old exercise, and now they find they are no better than raw recruits, scolded and beaten to learn these new lessons; thus they become disgusted with their career, and quit it at the risk of their lives; besides which, they dissuade young men from entering it. In addition to this, provisions being

¹ This seems incredible, but the French edition is carefully revised.—TR.

now so very dear, and the old pay being scarcely enough to sustain life, these warriors have become very miserable.

[January 1, 1753.] I have just read the representations made to the king on the 20th of last month by the chief-president in behalf of parliament; nothing was ever more eloquent, or developed with more skill and strength. For the last two years our parliaments pique themselves on presenting to the king lofty maxims worthy of a senate and sustaining liberty; the whole seasoned with respect (more of the bark than of the tree), yet all this goes to princes who do not know how to govern! One part must be remarked on; that in which the parliament declares that it sometimes has the misfortune of not being able to obey promptly, and even of "being unable to defer" to his Majesty's orders. Many maxims of this kind have been advanced to the king since M. de Maupeou decided on a course of firmness.

[January 13.] The Maréchal de Richelieu occupies himself in Languedoc by establishing the most honest toleration that can be brought about. So that now our French people will not leave that part of the kingdom. But we cannot make the chancellor of France hear reason, nor the bishops of Languedoc; each of these has his particular practice; they do not agree with one another, each saying he derives all from God; so it is a universal muddle.

The Marquise de Pompadour has recovered vigour; she is making *cordons bleus*; she has caused to be despatched sixteen *lettres de cachet* into Bretagne; she has almost driven from Versailles her niece, Mme. de Choiseul. In short, she still makes a good fight with the remains of her influence; but they say that the king avoids being alone with her, and is bored, but does not know how to go to work to send her away. My brother flattered himself he could substitute the young Mme. de Choiseul, about whom there is so much talk;

but that stroke having failed, nothing is left of it but a sad effect prejudicial to his own interests. This is what is called "meddling in too much for a valet," and it is how men get themselves dismissed when they fail in enterprises.

[January 15.] They are driving from Vincennes all the trade that was once there; the manufactory of porcelain is now being removed to Sèvres, close beside the glass-bottle works. Our king buys, and furnishes funds for all purposes as if his Majesty had much money in his coffers. At the head of the new manufactory they have put a dozen or more financiers, who are principally the friends of the marquise and the Keeper of the Seals. These men seem to be advancing funds, while in point of fact they advance none at all. They bought the stock of porcelains of the old company, (which is really another ruin to his Majesty); they will disperse and give away many of these curious trifles, presenting to the king the bait of a profit to the State which will never exist; they say that this will save two millions annually of our money which now goes to foreign parts, and will attract to us from foreigners as much more. I do not believe it.

Parliament has been making researches as to all the *lettres de cachet* launched against those who have not accepted the Constitution Unigenitus, and it finds there have been 45,000. That fact will enter the projected remonstrances.

[January 21.] The anarchy of the government is noticeable in a quantity of private disorders and wrongs, about which complaint is useless and the abuse progressive and multiplied. In the department of the king's hunting, the object of all the captains is to usurp over one another; no one represses them, none are punished. The Sieur de Montmorin, captain of the king's hunt at Fontainebleau, draws enormous sums of money from his office, and behaves like

a true brigand. He extends the limits of his captaincy and posts to neighbouring lands; he sells the right to hunt to whom he chooses; so that the owners of the land have the vexation that their horrid slavery to this hunting does not serve the king, but only private individuals who have bought the right to treat them tyrannically. The whole is done for the profit of the captains. It is becoming a *taille*-tax payable to them. Some of the Court people, more daring than others, defend themselves, even with armed hand, and have exempted their estates. The inhabitants of more than one hundred villages have ceased to sow crops; fruits and grains are so eaten by deer, hares, and other game, that they now plant only a few vineyards, which they watch carefully for six months in the year, mounting guard regularly night and day, with drums and charivari to frighten away these destructive animals. Our princes have other preserves which they are nurturing, and where the same vexations are at least as great. The Duc d'Orléans has just bought that of Vincennes; besides which are those of the Prince de Conti at Isle-Adam, and of the Comte de Charolais at Chantilly. The Prince de Conti lacks food and fuel, though he has six hundred thousand livres a year; he buys and builds madly on all sides, but lets his houses go to pieces; he has just made a hunting preserve [*capitainerie*] of eleven leagues around Isle-Adam, which irritates every one of his neighbours. This wind of folly, prodigality, and lack of necessities blows on all sides in France, from the great to the small, and our enemies will soon profit by it.

[January 24.] The Duchesse du Maine died the night before last.¹

¹ Anne-Louise-Bénédicté de Bourbon-Condé, wife of Louis-Auguste, Duc du Maine, son of Louis XIV. and Mme. de Montespan. — TR.

[February 1.] The English have forbidden absolutely the importations of our velvets, gold and silver laces, and other stuffs. They have just made an immense seizure of them, which is to be publicly burned. Their company of "Anti-Gallicans" encourages their fisheries in order to destroy ours. It is a great mark of national enmity to have given publicly such a title to that company.¹ They are building forty new vessels and will soon have a navy such as was never seen before in the world. In spite of that they have paid off since the peace more than two hundred millions (in our money) of their national debt; private persons are very rich, and everything is paid monthly in their public finances. With her numerous fleets England is going to annihilate us in the three parts of the world where we have colonies.

[February 9.] The shares of our Company of the Indies are going down daily, without any way to prevent it. Men of business are not sorry for this fall; it spreads to the other notes of the finance department and, affecting only the credit of the State, not theirs, they find themselves the most accredited and the best in funds of all the subjects of the king. Thus, by this superiority, preference will be given to them by the lenders of money. In this universal drop in values

¹ The Society, or Order of the Anti-Gallicans ("the laudable Order of the Anti-Gallicans" as one journal of the period calls it) seems to have been established about the end of the year 1751, and maintained to at least the year 1782. It had great presidents (Lord Carpenter, Sir Edward Vernon, etc.); annual and three-monthly meetings; prizes, distributed by ladies whose patriotic needles endeavoured to rival the French articles; corsairs, bearing the name and colours of the society, charged with attacking our merchant ships and transports; it even had its literature; we find among the publications of the period, lists of its candidates, correspondences relating to the affairs of the Association, sermons preached before assemblies of the Order, songs "intended to be sung by good people, especially those who are anti-Gallican," also novels such as "The Anti-Gallican, or the History and Adventures of Sir Henry Cobham." — FR. ED.

people are withdrawing their securities cheap to sell them dear, after receiving the amount in ready money. The form of these general receipt-papers make them as sound as those of the royal bank, the credit of the rich business men being involved only as sub-signatories, because they all sign in common under the endorsement of Pâris-Montmartel. Each signature, it is true, is compellable, but the case can never happen to compel it, for then the company would pay the money; it is, in fact, nothing else than a royal bank. The shares are in much the same case, for the king draws as he chooses from the funds and returns when he must. The danger to the State of such credit is that it does not depend on parliament or on any tribunal; a bad head presiding over affairs can draw out any huge sum he pleases; then private individuals may be ruined; the miserable lenders on this paper would lose their patrimony, but the rascally financiers would be only the richer; they would buy up estates and mansions more than ever, as we see them beginning to do to-day; their example is inciting the nobles to luxury, and will precipitate their ruin.

I have information as to the commerce in wheat from a well-informed man that monopoly is increasing, which will also increase famine in a year of plenty. Besides the company authorized by the ministry for this monopoly (which returns, they say, considerable sums to the king) there are several others, composed of the richest financiers, who work upon one and the same plan in different provinces. My informant assures me that these great rich fellows are carrying off all the wheat there is along the banks of the Loire, taking it out by sea and bringing it back by the Seine or the Garonne, so that the provinces which have plenty may share the dearth which these detestable monopolies are bringing upon the country everywhere. This wheat, thus

carted round, is locked up to make these monopolists masters of the market price.

There is a system in this, an illusory and lying system, a system of greed for these authorized jobbers. They say that in this way bread will henceforth be always held at three sous the pound, but never higher. I see well enough that in years of plenty they will hold to this, but I foresee that in years of scarcity they will raise the price, for it is certain that they want to gain, never to lose.

A farmer-general asserted to me last summer that it was doing a great service to the State to keep the price of wheat high; because in that way the king and we, the lords of the estates, were duly paid on our property; for those who gave themselves so much trouble and made such outlays deserved to get seven or eight per cent on it. This is how good faith and conscience put forth pernicious principles dictated by greed and sophism, and how ignorance in place and office adopts and follows them.

[February 11.] Poverty is beginning to besiege the royal treasury in such a way that the household of the king lacks absolutely everything. The most incredible things are told of it. The purveyors have declared that they could no longer supply the king's table, and have hid themselves; others had to be taken, about whom there is no less fear. The king's grooms ask for charity, their wives beg in the streets of Versailles after dark, and all else the same. Yet the expenses of the household are increasing; there is no longer any order or regularity. Each journey to the king's country-houses, even that to Trianon, costs a hundred thousand *livres*. The chief equerry is growing rich in his department, so do others; even the ladies in waiting on the princesses gain eighty per cent; it is said that their coffee and roll in the morning are charged at two thousand francs a

year; and so with the rest; no one has authority to school this royal household, which is a gulf of cost for the nation.

[February 13.] It is positively stated that the king has a new mistress, the daughter of Mme. Truchon, and that Mme. de Pompadour has consented, and even chosen her herself, wishing to retain her post of good friend. But they also say that in spite of this precautionary compliance the marquise will soon be sent away, and that all things are being arranged for it, and my brother increases in favour, being certain of what is to happen. Therefore when he quarrels with the marquise he knows very well what he is about.

The king is taking to ephemeral loves; he throws the handkerchief to young girls or women whom he sees at mass or when he dines in public. Bachelier, his old head valet, assists him. A young beauty of Montpellier, daughter of Mme. Nicquet (whom I know), has lately made up her mind and is now at Versailles, aiming to become the declared mistress. The marquise bears it as best she can; the king has compelled her to make certain visits she did not wish to make. Influence diminishes always when the attractions of love do not support it, but art can substitute itself for nature. Still, it is to be feared that the king will exceed his strength in these new pleasures, and the expenses, as may well be supposed, are increased thereby.

[February 19.] The whole Court is soliciting subscriptions of a hundred thousand *livres* to retain at the Opera the singer Jéliotte: the money is nearly obtained, from which he gets a *rente* of ten thousand *livres* and promises to remain two years longer. They would not give as much to save from misery a number of honest men who are dying of hunger. One sees nothing but silly foolishness in every action of the Court.

The whole bench of the presidents of the parliament of Mem.

Paris has the gout; the chief-president has it in the knee; President de Novion and President Turgot, those lords of the magistracy, pique themselves too much on their good living.

A man of the Court and of cabinet intrigues told me this morning that the Marquise de Pompadour was no longer the king's mistress; she has no functions near him, but endures the ephemeral affairs which he often has with certain beauties of Paris, especially young girls. His *valet de chambre*, Lebel, brings them to his room, which is now called "le trebuchet" [the snare] because it catches the young birds. Mme. de Pompadour expects to retain for a long time yet the rôle of prime-minister and friend; she believes she has the needful qualities, claiming to understand affairs with common-sense, and to have given, she says, a great impulse and emulation to the fine arts, being the only one who maintains magnificence at Court; but she does not see how frivolous are the arts she inspires, and what ridiculous profusion she excites.¹

[February 25.] At the college of La Flèche, twenty scholars shut themselves up in their class-room and fought with penknives; twelve are dead. At the College of Paris, a scholar put verdigris in the water-jug of his prefect who had scolded him; all who drank of it were very ill; they contented themselves with sending him to bed for eight days and did not expel him. What education!

The King of Prussia absolutely refuses to let the poet Voltaire leave his States. Voltaire wrote to him that he asked "for liberty or death." This discredits that monarch much among men distinguished in their arts whom he wanted to entice into his States. None of them now wish to go, preferring liberty to salary.

¹ Being without a sense of beauty himself, d'Argenson cannot be expected to see what the reign of Louis XV., and the influence of Mme. de Pompadour (a woman of the people) did for decorative art. — TR.

[March 6.] A courtier told me yesterday that it was certain, and could not be doubted, that Mme. de Pompadour will be dismissed at Easter;¹ that the king sees her but little in private, and she is already supplanted, — first, by little beauties from Paris introduced now and then by Lebel into his apartments; next, by the royal family, Mesdames de France and the dauphine, for journeys, fêtes, and amusements; and lastly, by his old aunt, the Comtesse de Toulouse, for confidences as to his cares and troubles and the need he feels to pour out his heart and mind; for our master is one who wants *needs* as much as Midas, to which to go and tell what he cannot hold his tongue about; and this confidence must be made to a woman, and not a man. His old aunt has still all the charms of society and that gift of conversation and allurements which the Noailles possess together with much perversity and selfish intrigue.

¹ D'Argenson no doubt gets this opinion, which he reiterates so often, from his brother, who continued all his life to believe that Mme. de Pompadour was on the verge of dismissal. Cardinal de Bernis gives a curious instance of this in his Memoirs. — Tr.

VIII.

1753.

[MARCH 10.] My son tells me that the Hôtel des Invalides is destitute, being ill-paid because the funds due to its treasurers are lacking. And yet this fine hospital is full of officers and soldiers. The eight war-years procured it some increase of revenue; but my brother, who likes only works that make a show, employed those funds on a grand building and great open squares, and in making luxurious the condition of invalid officers, hoping to entice the higher grade of them, such as commandants of battalions, lieutenant-colonels, and brigadiers. He made fine lodgings for officers, better furnished, with valets to serve them. This military luxury brought him some praises; but the officers of the old corps, from a sense of honour, would not go there, and all those miserable officers of the militia battalions have swooped down upon the establishment and overwhelmed it like a hotel. These things have absorbed all the profits from the war, so that to-day the financial condition of the Invalides is crushing. This is enough to frighten any one, and when my brother put the management on my son's shoulders he saw well enough the bad state of things; but the blame for it will fall upon the reversioner, who dreads the loss of his reputation thereby.

There is talk of a conversation the queen had with the Keeper of the Seals, Machault; this minister seldom goes to her dinner, but being there some days ago, the queen asked him, before fifty people, why bread was so dear, why

there were so many beggars though the harvest had been so good? To which that mischievous minister could only answer by the eloquence of silence and some inward shame.

A very ridiculous censure by the Sorbonne is about to appear against the book of President Montesquieu, "*L'Esprit des Lois*," in which that society thinks it finds matters against revealed religion. Such branding would be a scandal, for this is a philosophical work, admired by all the world, and one which does honour to our nation and to our epoch. The Sorbonne, which is nothing more now than a corpse, is like Gros-Jean *qui remontre à son curé* [teaches his grandmother], and revealed religion will suffer detriment in this way, instead of elevation.

President de Malesherbes, who now has the management of the king's licenses and the censorship of books, under his father, Chancellor Lamoignon, takes hold of his duties famously; he lets pass everything that comes along, saying that it is better to keep our goods in the kingdom than let them go to foreign lands; then, when orders from above come down to prohibit, he publishes them, and returns to tolerance, which thus remains and reigns in literature more than it does elsewhere.

[March 15.] A vicar of the parish of Sainte-Marguerite assures me that more than eight hundred persons perished from want in the faubourg Sainte-Antoine between the 20th of January and the 20th of February; that these poor people died of cold and hunger in barns and garrets, and the priests got there too late to do more than see them die without succour.

This faubourg Saint-Antoine is full of small workmen who do not belong to any association; when Paris becomes poor through the increasing inequality of wealth, then their inferior work, less perfect than that of the great trades, has no

market. What is to be done with these poor people? They do not know where to go; as for seeking refuge in the country they cannot do it, the poverty, wretched living, and financial inquisition being worse there than in the cities. Yes, the finance department has closed all asylums to honesty and labour without means.

[March 18.] I have been listening to an argument as to the touch of madness which is said to have existed in the late Duc d'Orléans. As I served him for five years, I can say what I know of it, and what testimony I gave to the king when he spoke to me about it. His mania was not believing to be dead those who were dead. I admit that I saw something of it in relation to his former librarian, the late Abbé d'Houteville. The duke asked me one day for the harangues that were made at the French Academy on the occasion of the reception of the abbé's successor; I supplied him with them, and I know that he said to several persons that I had had them written. The source of all this lay in his belief in metempsychosis. A Chevalier de Béthune, of the Academy of Sciences, had a share in his education and gave him his first lessons in metaphysics. He advised me to read the Memoirs of that crazy and witty *savant*, a man of a very vivacious mind who overshot his mark. His system established a sort of metempsychosis which was not that of Plato, and which was made to agree with Christianity as best it could. Men, he believed, absented themselves for some time above our earth, to re-appear at a later period. He did not think that either Henri IV. or Louis XIV. were dead.

[March 30.] The Prince de Conti works more frequently with the king, and for a longer time, than ever before. The rumour is that he is to enter the Council and be a species of prime-minister, the other ministers assembling at his house

for the committees. He has a smattering of politics, and even of ecclesiasticism. He goes and works for six hours at a time with the Jesuit, Père la Tour, who explains to him the political system. The king is very weary of all these bickerings in his government ; but he will only plunge into worse if he confides the reins to a prince whose ideas are so muddled.

It is certain that the king now has for concubine a little girl fourteen years old, who served as model to Boucher the painter. The king saw her in his valet Lebel's apartments. He asked her if she knew who he was ; and she replied she had seen his portrait on the silver coins. His Majesty gave 10,000 *livres* to her mother who is poor, and they carry her food from the king's kitchen, as an economy.

I have been informed of certain secrets. Here is one. The long and frequent interviews between the king and the Prince de Conti concern solely a scheme to make the prince King of Poland, either after the death of the reigning king or sooner. It is thought that his party is considerable and that the neighbouring powers will support it, especially the King of Prussia. The league against us, they say, is of opinion that a prince so isolated as this French prince would be better for them than the Elector of Saxony, who might combine with the King of Prussia in close alliance, his interest being very clear. But meantime the King of Prussia sacrifices his interests to his passion. So they have embarked him on this project, and with him Sweden and Denmark ; thus all the northern powers and Germany concur, and Austria will diminish in this way the strength of the powerful Elector of the empire and reduce it to the limits of Saxony, which is burdened with the debts of that prince.

In my time I saw this project worked at secretly, and known to the king alone ; but I could not believe that his

Majesty thought seriously of it. However, they have now shown it to him as being "very easy;" for that is how men always lead a superficial mind without principles to great and ruinous projects. Hence this frequent and assiduous work of the Prince de Conti with the king; he sometimes receives despatches in the hunting-field, and instantly scribbles a few lines which he sends to the king by couriers, returning himself at once to Isle-Adam. This secret correspondence cannot be attributed to affairs of State, in which he is not seen to have any influence. Far from favouring in France the Jesuit party, he has been heard of late to launch very strong anti-Constitutional shafts; and his mother, the Princesse de Conti, is a friend to the Jansenists.

[March 31.] The influence of Mme. de Pompadour sustains itself still by the habit of confidence. I have spoken of the little girl who has served as model to painters; it is certain that the king meets her in a little house at Versailles, and that the monarch disappears for several hours without any one knowing what has become of him. It is this that keeps him more steadily at Versailles.¹

These secret amours of our monarch have been related to me in detail, and it will be seen that he is dropping from bad to worse. Mme. d'Étioles, now Marquise de Pompadour, was a great lady compared with the objects of these last two *amourettes*. This winter he had a little girl who served as model for painters; he now has a regular mistress inferior to even that vocation if possible; she belongs to the class of

¹ This little house was no doubt that which d'Argenson and the Memoirs of Barbier designate from this time as the Parc-aux-Cerfs, which in reality indicates a whole quarter of the town. It was Nos. 2 and 4 rue Saint-Médéric, Versailles, and was not large enough to contain more than one young girl at a time. It was hired by the usher Vallet, on the king's account, Nov. 25, 1755; but it is probable that this house or another in the same street had already served for the pleasures of Louis XV. These authentic details have been considerably amplified by legends. — FR. ED.

prostitutes by family and condition. A woman named Morfi [Murphy, she was Irish], a dealer in old clothes, kept a little shop in the Palais-Royal about ten years ago; mother of four daughters, she sold them, one after another, when they came to maturity. The eldest of these sisters calls herself Mme. de Saint-Gratien and is to-day kept by a counsellor; the two others have played at the Opéra-Comique, without other talent than their good looks.

The youngest, who is now the favourite sultana, worked with a dressmaker named Mme. Fleuret, who procures lovers for her workwomen. She brings them up by rule, and this one had just made her first communion in a convent. The king had sent his *valet de chambre*, Lebel, to Paris, to bargain for some young girl. The latter went to the said Fleuret, who put him in contact with Mme. Morfi; he saw the little Morfi, who is fourteen and a half years old, and he thought well of her. He gave a thousand crowns to the mother and a hundred louis to the dressmaker. The little girl has wit and pleased the monarch; she now has a pretty house in the Parc-aux-Cerfs, a governess, a waiting-maid, a cook, and two lacqueys. It is foretold that she will soon drive out the marquise. Meantime the latter is very rich; she is now buying the hôtel d'Évreux for six hundred thousand *livres*, and the external appearances of favour are still for her and for the ministers whom she supports.

[April 8.] The assembly of the Chambers on the 5th of this month confined itself to the reading of its remonstrances to the king; these make an actual book, which will no doubt soon be printed. The king's lawyers in parliament have asked his Majesty to appoint a day and hour when they can take the remonstrances to him, for they foresee that they will not be read at their audience, but before the Council.

[April 9.] I have read the last sentences of the remon-

stances of parliament; they end thus: "Sire, if *those who abuse your authority* expect to throw us into the alternative of disobeying our conscience or of displeasing you, we would have them know that our zeal is so great that we prefer any disgrace that fidelity can bring upon us, to the infidelity that pleases and obeys against its duty." :.

It was pointed out to me that the first line concerns my brother, who has now placed himself at the head of the Molinist church, and becomes in that way dear to the Jesuits and the whole episcopate. The Bishop of Mirepoix says of him, "There is no one now at Court but him who has any religion;" this is just because he favours sacerdotal dominion.

The king goes to Choisy on Tuesday for two days. The infanta, Duchess of Parma, has orders to start for Italy next month, her husband demanding her with loud cries.

The little Morfi is beginning to come openly to the king and her favour is no longer hidden. She is clever and has a decided will, and means to drive away the marquise. She is sixteen years old.

The architect Mansard has bought the duchy of Lévy for five hundred thousand *livres*. They say it is for one of his customers, whom I know, who wants to be duke and peer.

Madame de Pompadour has signed her purchase of the magnificent hôtel d'Évreux for five hundred thousand *livres* and a diamond worth twenty thousand *livres* for the Princesse de Turenne. She continues therefore in her influence and insolence, although she cannot be ignorant that a mere girl has taken her place with the monarch; which shows little delicacy in her and bad morals in our king.¹

¹The hôtel d'Évreux was built in 1718 by the Comte d'Évreux. M. Leroy, in his "Schedule of the expenditures of Mme. de Pompadour," gives the cost of the purchase as 650,000 *livres*. Bequeathed by the marquise to the king, the hôtel d'Évreux passed into the hands of the rich banker Beaujon, who resold it to Louis XVI. in 1786. It is now the palace of the Élysée. — FR. ED.

The answer of his Majesty to the king's lawyers was given yesterday as follows: "Before appointing a day to receive the remonstrances, his Majesty desires to know what are the points on which the said remonstrances are made." In this way he will formally know that there are several which have already been rejected by him (one on *lettres de cachet*, for instance), and he will declare that he will hear no more about them. This is all the parliament gains by publishing everywhere its twenty-three articles.

[April 13.] I know the following anecdotes from a minister of the Council at which was discussed whether the king should or should not receive the remonstrances of parliament. My son, who gives the first opinion, seeing that the king leaned to not receiving them, proposed that parliament should first register letters patent ordering it to cease taking cognizance of the refusal of the sacraments. The Maréchal de Noailles gave his opinion bravely that they ought to be received, saying that the king should always listen to his subjects on whatever complaint they made to him, free to punish those who made them with injustice or irreverence. It was noticed that the king coloured and showed anger at this speech of the maréchal, although he spoke well; nevertheless, they all regard him as a madman, who talks sometimes well, often ill, and always without system or principle. The Keeper of the Seals, seeing the royal anger, and seeking to soften it and gain time, proposed the plan which passed, namely, that, previously, parliament should send to the king the points on which the remonstrances are based.

[April 14.] I hear of nothing but the great hatred of parliament against my brother and against my family; this goes back to the memory of my late father, who managed the *lit de justice* of the Tuileries in 1719 and repressed the parliament so powerfully. But to-day it is for bad reasons that

such repression is attempted. The Keeper of the Seals, Machault, is honoured and liked by those of his party, and it is thought that he and the marquise, who supports him, suggest to the king sentiments of respect for humanity and justice, and cultivate what there is of good in him; and this alone keeps the parliament to moderation. The king is loved; they think him kind and humane; hence they hate all the more those who they believe are corrupting and exciting him.

[April 16.] Jean-Jacques Rousseau of Geneva, an agreeable author, but piquing himself on philosophy, says that men of letters ought to make three vows: poverty, liberty, and truth. This has turned the government against him; he has professed these sentiments in several prefaces; on which he is talked about in the cabinets, and the king remarked that he should do well to put him in Bicêtre. The Comte de Clermont added that it would be well to thrash him when there. They fear this sort of free philosopher. My friend d'Alembert is a case of the kind, and is threatened with rebuke by our State inquisitors. The Jesuits are the chief instigators of this system.

[April 24.] I am assured that Mme. de Pompadour will be dismissed from favour the moment she takes possession of the hôtel d'Évreux. It is told that last year she wanted to buy a house, on which the king said to her, "What! you wish to leave me to go and live in Paris?" But this year he was the first to propose her buying the hôtel d'Évreux, and when she said she was not in a position to do so the king replied that he would furnish the money by buying Bellevue and giving it to the dauphin, and then with that money she could buy the hôtel d'Évreux. They assure me positively that the first day the marquise is established in that house and sleeps there, she will receive orders

never to return to Versailles, and that she expects this. *Sic transit gloria mundi*. But some think it may turn into a good and true friendship and that the king will sometimes go to see her and talk with her. His love for the little Morfi continues and increases, but is still carried on with much mystery. Every one seeks to know her, and they now say that she is a girl of high rank; though the truth really is that her mother was only an old-clothes woman.

The king is more and more in love with little Morfi; she amuses him; such are the flimsy and inconstant loves of which the monarch is capable; he quits them harshly. The Duc d'Ayen is the only one of the courtiers to whom the king has yet shown the little girl; this gives him a great air of favour, which he divulges under cover of reserve. The ministers speak with respect of this new mistress; they now attribute to her an Irish origin, and there are, in fact, several officers of the name in the regiments of that nation.¹ She is clever, and she lately broke up a trip to Bellevue, which shows her jealousy of the former sultana. Presently she will not endure her at Court, and she will govern like the one she supersedes. These little grisettes take *noms de guerre*. Her eldest sister calls herself Mme. de Saint-Gratien.

[April 30.] *Lettres de cachet* are being multiplied, as if to show parliament how little notice is taken of its remonstrance on that point. They have just put in the Bastille the Sieur de la Beaumelle, who has practised law in Copenhagen and written divers very free works. He also wrote a criticism on Voltaire's "Times of Louis XIV.," in which he dwelt on many insulting things about the regent, Duc d'Orléans. Consequently the present Duc d'Orléans, the

¹ Horace Walpole says that the father was an Irish soldier in the Body-guard, and afterwards a shoemaker. In the "Memoirs of Casanova" she is called O'Morphi, born in Flanders of Greek origin. — FR. ED.

grandson, demanded this punishment; Mme. Denis, Voltaire's niece, also demanded it; so here is all Parnassus more up in arms against Voltaire than ever. But he gains ground, having turned towards the Jesuits and the bishops. He will return to France more triumphant than ever, and will write, no doubt, for the Molinist cause, in view of fortune, for which he is insatiable.

[May 3.] Grains and above all wheat are getting dearer in the markets about Paris in spite of the fine weather and the appearance of a plentiful harvest. This causes, as usual, murmurs against the government, especially against the minister of finance. If M. de Machault, being so rich, takes nothing himself, he allows to take, and assists in taking, all the prostitutes of the Court. They talk of nothing but the immense wealth of the Marquise de Pompadour; they say she will retire with an income of more than 1,800,000 *livres*; there are no places in the finances that she has not sold, and the profits pass into the hands of her chief of council, the Sieur Collin, formerly an attorney. Every one has his revelation to make on her insatiable greed; even M. de Machault, her best friend, declared to the king that it was she who caused the dilapidation of the finances; that she drew one hundred thousand crowns as her fixed pension; and besides that, she had permission to draw from the receipts what money she liked, and that there was no favour from which she did not obtain money through her agent Collin; that she did not neglect even the smallest sums, and swelled all those that were susceptible of it. In this way M. de Machault defends himself for his wretched administration, and reveals all that has been confided to him; it is in this way, too, that my brother seeks to justify himself for his ill-will to Mme. de Pompadour. Before long a pretended reconciliation of a sham quarrel between these

two ministers will be seen ; then a mutual understanding to destroy their enemies. Those who have confessed to the said Machault their hatred against my brother will be sad victims. Certainly it is the best played bit of intrigue ever seen at Court.

[May 5.] The king goes to Bellevue to-morrow, to return, it is thought, to Versailles on Sunday. The great object which takes them is to see the eclipse of Mercury by the sun. His Majesty, who might take an anxious interest in so many other important things, is very inquisitive about all such astronomical details. Through this event we shall know more than heretofore about the size of the disk of the sun by the time that Mercury takes to cross it, and also the distance of the sun from the earth, which is not as yet well known.

[May 7.] There is much uncertainty as to what will be done in the matter of the remonstrances of parliament. The Maréchal de Richelieu had made the king resolve to listen to them four days before the Council made him reject them, as he has done. The Maréchal de Noailles openly hoists the flag of parliament in the advice he gives to the king. My brother has put himself too strongly against parliament and in favour of the priests ; it will draw upon him dangerous hatreds. The public is wholly for parliament and approves of its last step. The seigneurs pique themselves on agreeing with the public, all the more because in so doing they thwart the ministers. The king floats between the two extreme sentiments with a leaning from old instincts towards the priesthood which brought him up, as it has the dauphin.

[May 8.] Trouble and embarrassment about the affairs with parliament are coming to extremes. Yesterday the king sent letters patent to it bearing the royal command to register

the decree of February 22, ordering it to abstain from all knowledge in the matter of the sacraments, and resume its functions of ordinary justice, "under pain of disobedience and of incurring our indignation." The attorney-general advised that these documents be registered as well as those of February 22, and then that remonstrances be made upon them. But parliament, with one voice, voted yesterday that "it persists in its decree of May 5; being unable without failing in its duty or disregarding its oath" to obey the order of the letters patent.

Certainly, here is the most consummate disobedience of subjects to their master that has been seen for a very long time, considering the terms of the letters patent: "under pain of disobedience and the indignation of his Majesty." What remains now but to strike with the sword? Discontent is everywhere and obedience in no class, nor of any kind. Matters are combustible, it needs but a spark to light them; who knows how? A counsellor sent into exile and crossing the markets might be stopped by the populace crying out that they were punishing one of the fathers of the country. The counsellors and presidents are all ready to go; they each have their rolls of *louis* and their carriage-wheels greased.

[May 9.] A book has just appeared on a new dispute that is arising. The librarian of the great library of Antwerp has discovered a manuscript, written by the hand of Cardinal Bellarmine himself which denies the authenticity of the Vulgate on everything except faith and morals. He rejects the historical and the physical parts of Genesis. In fact, do we not often see that the Church is only believable on righteousness not on fact? Apply this to the Holy Scripture of the Old Testament, and we shall free our minds of many doubts on the necessity of faith where our reason requires us to believe nothing. They are now writing for and against these bold

opinions of Bellarmine. The Jesuits, friends of an author so ultramontane, defend him in their "Journal de Trévoux." The authors are now attacking Père Berthier, writer of the article in the said Journal, and the matter will not rest there.

[May 10.] Yesterday all Paris was in an uproar: as early as four in the morning, three mousquetaires went to wake up each member of parliament (except those of the grand-chamber and the grand bench); these mousquetaires served upon each man a *lettre de cachet* exiling him; three to their estates, on account of their relationship to the ministers; the others to Poitiers, Angoulême, Montbrison, Clermont-Ferrand, Vendôme, Châlons, Orléans, Bourges, and Troyes. Four were carried off instantly without being permitted to use their own travelling-carriage, or to take with them any convenience; they were carried to the ugliest of the provincial prisons (which in itself has a flavour of cruelty). These were: the Abbé Chauvelin taken to Mont Saint-Michel, the President de Mazy, to the Îles Sainte-Marguerite; and the President de Bésigny, to the château of Ham. The other exiles were allowed twenty-four hours in which to leave, and were ordered to see and speak to no one during that time.

The grand Chamber and the bench of judges, who are not exiled, assembled at their usual time; the chief-president rendered a report of the treatment of their co-members, and immediately their grand Chamber deliberated, as the assembled chambers had done the night before, and persisted in the same course as their colleagues. It will here be observed that the grand Chamber did not propose to ask the king for the pardon of the exiled chambers, nor to make any remonstrance, "regarding all access to the throne closed by those who abuse the confidence of the king."

Such is the spirit of the parliament to-day; a spirit which it proclaims and carries out, and in which there is much to
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fear for my brother, for it is he whom they most dislike personally. To say that here is the parliament pulverized and annihilated is an error there is great danger in believing; for it is the whole nation that speaks by the organ of these magistrates; and it is not a trifling matter to displease to this degree a whole nation like ours. Yesterday morning as the members of the grand Chamber left their session the Palais de Justice was crowded with the populace, who had heard of the arrests; they clapped their hands and shouted, "Vive le parlement!"

They tell me that the Palais was guarded by soldiers in disguise. They also tell me that our name is held in execration, the d'Argensons being regarded as the authors of this public and anti-national injustice.

In order to clear off pending suits and trials before the holidays, government is sounding the grand Council but with little hope of success; the greater number of the counsellors are Jansenist like the parliament, and they say it is dishonouring their court to give it the prerogatives of parliament for a moment only. Government will probably therefore have recourse to a small provisional court of parliament composed of councillors of State and masters of petitions, such as they made in 1720 during the regency. It was then created to further the system of Law, and the bishops played the rôle of the stock-jobbers of that day. It will cause great embarrassments, but no other expedient can be imagined. Neither lawyers nor prosecutors will appear; no business can be transacted, and there will be, unless this is done, a total cessation of justice in three-fourths of the kingdom. Appeals from sentences during that time would be held to be appeals to the future Council.

[May 12.] We are daily expecting the dismissal of the grand Chamber and the bench; and truly, there is no reason

why they should not be dismissed as well as the others; and yet the exile of these old men would keenly affect the public.

Wednesday there was no one present at the theatres or on the public promenades. Since this affair began the royal stocks have no price; not 10,000 *livres*' worth have been sold in the market.

All the other tribunals have ceased to administer justice, even the offices of the prosecuting attorneys are all closed. Everywhere the hatred against the episcopacy and against the whole Sacerdotal Order is carried to the highest excess. My brother and my son being regarded as the authors of this disorder—whether from some vengeance of my brother, or from their fanatical attachment to the priesthood—the public, even the lowest populace, are up against their favour and our name; so that I dare not appear in the streets with my livery, fearing to be confounded with them, though I little deserve it.

The ministry also are up in arms against my brother, and declare that they will no longer serve under his orders. The seigneurs, the favourites, the upper and lower officers, all cry out against these injustices and speak of my brother as a tyrant. This gives free play to the enemies he has at Court, and particularly to the party of Mme. de Pompadour.

[May 13.] The king says that the affairs of parliament bore him more than they grieve him.

The Keeper of the Seals said, and repeated several times, that without the administration of justice there was no France. As for money, it is tighter than ever, and all credit falls.

Yesterday there was a great fire in Paris on the Île Saint-Louis, and three houses were burned. The chief-president was there, and on returning home he found an order from

the king delivered by the mousquetaires, to remove the parliament to Pontoise. An order is also given to hold themselves ready on Sunday next at ten o'clock to receive further commands from the king. These will be to resume the functions of justice. But no one doubts they will refuse, as they have already done; intending to support their brethren and not retract in any way.

The Court, however, hopes to disunite them, and induce them to ask some favour which would help disunion. On Tuesday in the grand Chamber the king's lawyers urged the assembly to ask for the king's mercy to the exiled members; but after diverse reprimands the chief-president finally ordered them to retire, saying he would send for them when they were needed.

[May 14.] The chief-president started day before yesterday, and also the whole of the grand Chamber yesterday, to assemble at Pontoise, and begin their sessions to-day, Monday. The king's order says that they are to resume the administration of justice, under pain of disobedience and privation of their offices. The appearances are that there will be disobedience, or at least remonstrances.

The Marquise de Pompadour is on better terms than ever with the king. But a courtier assures me that the news was false that he had sent away the little Morfi; on the contrary he is fonder of her than ever; I know a person who saw her on Sunday at Versailles, where she is now styled "Madame."

[May 18.] My son is of opinion that the king should hold a *lit de justice* at the Council, which should deliberate on the punishment to be inflicted on parliament. But my brother fears that many extraordinary things might be said to the king at the *lit de justice*, and that he himself might be named as responsible for the rigour shown to the magistrates.

A priest attached to Saint-Côme told me yesterday that

in that parish there were three thousand communicants, and that was twelve hundred less than they had last year. The same thing at Saint-Sulpice. The loss of religion in France cannot be attributed to English philosophy, which never gained in Paris more than a hundred adherents, but it is due to the hatred conceived against the priests, which has now run to extremes. These ministers of religion scarcely venture to show themselves in the streets, where they are hooted; and all this, as well as the struggle with parliament, comes from that bull Unigenitus. On various public places can be read seditious placards bearing the words: "Long live parliament! Death to king and bishops!"

[May 20.] They say that Cardinal de La Rochefoucauld, who was sent for, has excused himself from coming on the ground that his clergy have need of him; but the true reason of his refusal is that he has nothing useful to say, for all good Frenchmen (such as he) feel that none but the king and his political power can bring order into all this; the ecclesiastical power has played its part, the practical pacification must come from the secular guardians.

The parliament at Pontoise is being much praised for the firmness with which it conducts itself; other *frondeurs* whom I know pretend that all is going the other way; they judge of the present by a bad past, and they assure me they foresee that the grand Chamber, besieged on all sides by the seductions the Court is bringing to bear upon it, will soon give way — which I do not believe.

[May 24.] On the 21st parliament received at Pontoise the deputies of the University, who made it a very beautiful harangue, saying that with the parliament justice and public security had fled the city. I don't know how the Court will take that harangue.

A learned cabal, but pedantic and of bad taste, forces the

public to hear nothing now but Italian music, or new operas saturated with Italian music. The provost of the merchants (Bernage) has neither the force nor the industry to surmount this mischievous taste; he is thought to be a man of little mind, and is laughed at by those who are interested in the Opera. There is some talk of having an Italian Opera here. For my part, I wish they would form a French Opera, to which I would willingly subscribe for a seat.

My brother is urging the king to fresh severities against parliament. I know it was the king who first thought of dismembering the parliament of Paris; I also know who it is who has advised increasing the power of the lower courts, for I have seen the memorial. They are trying to persuade those courts in Paris to take, *pro tem.*, the functions of parliament, but they all refuse.

[May 27.] The king has taken his confidence from the chancellor, Lamoignon, and from his son, M. de Malesherbes, so that the tacit permission to print books to which privileges are not accorded must now be obtained from M. Berryer, lieutenant of police, in whom my brother trusts far more than he does in M. de Malesherbes; and the king relies wholly on my brother for such things. Whoever has this great power to hinder the liberty of the press, ought to call himself the head-clerk of tyranny.

The Sieur de Beaumelle is still in the Bastille, and they say he is going out of his mind. One of his friends who had permission to see him found him looking quite wild. He is a man twenty-six years of age, of ardent mind, on whom imprisonment would have such effect. The Duc d'Orléans declares that he never asked for his punishment, and is not opposed to its ending; the minister replies that he is kept in prison for another reason. There is every appearance that he is kept there by the priests, those cruel inquisitors and

executioners, the priests, who are hated to-day by every one. La Beaumelle wrote something against superstition in his defence of President Montesquieu.

[June 10.] The "Gazette of Utrecht" has quoted in full the remonstrances of parliament of April 9, saying that they are the finest that have ever appeared since the establishment of parliaments, and that they deserve to go down to posterity. This, no doubt, is the reason why this gazette is now forbidden to enter France.

A letter and memorial written by the exiled counsellors at Bourges to the parliament at Pontoise is making a great noise, and we shall have copies of it immediately.

The king has declared that he will not permit in the seat at the French Academy, for which an election takes place to-day, either the *Sieur Piron*, on account of his former licentious verses, or any lawyers (meaning especially *M. du Vaudier*, a famous barrister), because those gentlemen have abandoned their functions. So it is thought that *M. Buffon*, of the Academy of Sciences, will be elected, though the *Sorbonne* is at present engaged in censuring his last work.

[June 16.] The king commanded *M. de Montesquieu*, director of the French Academy, to give positive exclusion to the election of the Archbishop of Sens, *Piron*, or *du Vaudier*, barrister; consequently the election was postponed until to-day. These elections are apt to be very tumultuous. It is noticeable that the *Marquise de Pompadour* had given a promise to *Piron* that he should have the first vacancy at the French Academy; so here is the beginning of her loss of influence.

" I have heard the particulars of this affair. President de Montesquieu was sent for by my brother to receive the king's orders, which his Majesty gave himself to the director of the Academy. The Bishop of Mirepoix had shown the

king an "Ode to Priapus," a youthful work of Piron which procured him this exclusion; and the same ecclesiastical censor cried out against admitting lawyers under present circumstances. The assembled Academy was shocked by this stroke, and sees a loss of liberty in these multiplied exclusions; they have put off the election till next Saturday, and they do not know whom to take; every one fears a like rejection by the master. Buffon, whose "Natural History" is now being examined by the Sorbonne, and d'Alembert, of the "Encyclopædia," retire, in dread of a sudden and defaming rejection; there are none but flat-foots left to elect. I know that Bougainville had some hopes, but they suspect him of Jansenism; also the Abbé de Condillac, metaphysician, but he has talked too much about the soul. Certainly, this exclusion by the sovereign, becoming frequent, is an indiscretion of sovereignty. The late king employed it only once in the course of his life. It does seem as if they were working on all sides to establish the Inquisition in France; and the more the priests are detested, the more they band together to make themselves detestable.

They tell me there is no more question in Paris of the parliament than if it did not exist. It is thought that on Monday, when the holidays from Whitsuntide to Trinity end, we shall see commissions appointed to take up the functions of parliament.

[June 20.] The Abbé de Bernis has promise and expectation of the first vacant place as councillor of State. He has hardly returned from Venice, his first embassy, where he had nothing to do, before he receives this great reward. These are the men as amiable in society as they are useless to the republic; all their rewards should be invitations to feasts and festivals.

They assure me that the famous place in the French

Academy, so disputed, is to go to M. de Bougainville, secretary of the Academy of Belles-Lettres; his education as a Jansenist has been concealed in some lucky way, and of late he plays the good colleague to escape the charge of hypocrisy; he is ambitious and asthmatic.

[June 22.] The pope, on learning of the exile of the parliament of Paris, showed great moderation and silenced a prelate who expressed his joy, saying it was a subject to groan over rather than rejoice.

The British government is surmounting the strongest opposition to a bill for naturalizing the Jews. There have been lampoons, satires, and answers on all sides against it. A member of parliament retired to his estates with labels on the hats of his servants bearing this inscription: "No Jews. No naturalization. Long live the old maxims of England and Christianity!"

We have news that Voltaire has been arrested at Frankfurt and will not be released until he restores to the King of Prussia his contract of engagement with him, and a big volume of that monarch's poems which he carried off. This poet is capable of bringing the matter before the Aulic Council, expecting to find an avenger in the leader of the Germanic body, and wishing that every gazette would make mention of him. Oh! the vanity of poets! Courage of mind, and lowness of heart!

[July 1.] The news from Pontoise is good and bad. The majority of minds in the parliament are excited; they fear to dishonour themselves by not asking, as a preliminary to all negotiation, for the return and union of their exiled colleagues. The judges and the king's lawyers are going about at night to the houses of the excited great Chamberers, a part of whom have consented to resume the functions of justice. Honour! thou art but a show virtue!

When the separation is effected between the grand Chamber and its courts, the parliament of Paris will be the vain shadow of a national senate; and what sort of business is it for a king to negotiate thus with his subjects in order to seduce them? Is that legislation? is that ruling?

A counsellor of the parliament of Rouen, named Saint-Ouen, having endeavoured in the assembly of the Chambers to make a eulogy of the bull *Unigenitus*, the assembly sent him to the record-office to inform himself on the maxims of the said bull, with orders to make confession of his mistake before the whole assembly, all of which he did with docility.

[July 8.] I have seen copies of a letter, as touching as it is ridiculous, from Mme. Denis, niece of the poet Voltaire, who is arrested at Frankfort with her uncle at the solicitation of the King of Prussia. Voltaire is accused of wishing to print the poems of the King of Prussia; he and his niece are kept under arrest, and, what is worse, it costs them six hundred *livres* a day for costs of living.

[July 11.] The king has declared that none of the ministers nor the Prince de Conti are to meddle further in negotiations with parliament, and that his Majesty will conduct them alone. So here is the king disabused about his ministry on this point; it is a great step back for the episcopal authority from the declaration it was planning.

[July 22.] The barristers and even the prosecuting attorneys have resolved among themselves to give one hundred *livres* a month to the poor lawyers and attorneys, who cannot subsist without their work in the courts.

The king affects to say nothing more before any one of the affair of the parliament; he will not allow the name to be uttered before him. At heart he is greatly embarrassed; he detests the priests, whom he sees to be the cause of all

the trouble, which he dares not touch as yet; and no one emboldens him. Yet the ministers stir up his anger against parliament, and it is now said that two days hence we shall see a great blow struck at that courageous senate. There is talk of more imprisonments and the exile of the whole grand Chamber, imprisonment for the most fervent, and exile to their estates for the presidents.

[July 26.] A person admitted to the intimacy of the royal family tells me the following:—

Madame Adélaïde rules everything; pronounces absolutely, and decides all that the dauphin is to do in the course of the day. She affects to overrule the few orders the dauphine gives, in order to mark her authority. The latter is unhappy; she has not the slightest influence; the sister keeps the husband from being attached to her. It is true she has no rival. The dauphin is an unexampled compound of the most contradictory qualities; he has bigotry and no religion; impulses of a good heart, moved even to tears, and inhumanity; gentleness and harshness; traits of intelligence and stupidity, childishness and prudence, but, above all, singularity (announcing nothing of value); he goes about at night when others are in their beds.

The expenses for Mme. de Pompadour increase rather than diminish; all the revenues of the two elections were spent on the embellishment of the grounds at Crécy since she has owned that place. They are now constructing there a machine much like that of Marly to force water up a mountain.

There is more talk than ever of the return of the former Keeper of the Seals, Chauvelin, as prime-minister. A bishop said yesterday: "How can one expect the Church to have the authority that belongs to her? Three princes of the blood sustain the parliament, all three under the advice of

Chauvelin, former Keeper of the Seals." These three princes are the Prince de Conti and the Comtes de Charolais and de Clermont. Undoubtedly, all this tends to the preparation of troubles and civil wars.

[August 1.] As for the parliament at Pontoise, I learn, by an officer who has just returned from there, that the chief-president is to-day the leader of the most zealous, the most eager members. President de Novion gives himself up wholly to their cause; these zealous men assemble at his house; even the chief-president goes there. The wife of the latter does not conceal her ardour, and tells them openly that the more united and firm they are in their principles, the shorter will be their exile and disgrace. These principles of parliament are: that the royal authority must draw back completely; that parliament shall be reassembled in Paris; that the ministers who have been against it be dismissed; that the remonstrances already offered, which the king so peremptorily refused, be permitted; and that the competence of parliament against the Church be declared. But have they reflected that his Majesty is not capable of allowing such shame to his authority?

There were sixteen votes for registering the declaration, resuming their functions, and asking for the return of their exiled colleagues, and twenty-six who refused this. Those sixteen depend on what is called "the bag;" having much business they derive as much as 20,000 *livres* from their practice; the greater number prefer leisure to work, and like the life they are leading at Pontoise, where they have good food, fine play, promenades, and spend less than they do in Paris.

Lately there has been a new negotiation conducted by the Maréchal de Noailles, President Chauvelin, the former Keeper of the Seals Chauvelin, the Keeper of the Seals Machault, and

the former attorney-general ; so far it has not succeeded, but the king, having read a memorial made by the late Keeper of the Seals Chauvelin, said it was the best thing he had seen on the subject.

[August 22.] It is certain that the king is about to borrow forty millions, and for this they are searching for a means of doing so without the registration of parliament ; they will give this loan the appearance of a reimbursement of old debts, the whole to be in annuities, of which our bachelor Frenchmen are so fond. I know that on the last trip to Compiègne the king was absolutely without money ; they had to borrow two millions of Montmartel, without which he could not have started. Yet, in spite of this distress, the plan is made to rebuild the château de Compiègne entirely.

[August 29.] A change of ministry is predicted at the next Martinmas on account of the affair of the parliament, which is, they say, impossible to settle otherwise. The Keeper of the Seals displeases the king because when he works with him he has nothing to say except, "There is no money in the royal treasury." My brother amuses his Majesty with his Paris department, telling him all the police details which they get by spying, such as the licentious intrigues of the ladies of Paris. M. Rouillé has sovereignly displeased him by his pedantry ; M. de Saint-Contest does not know any anecdotes and never reasons ; consequently, he has never worked with the king but twice since he has been in office.

My brother is in deeper discord than ever with Mme. de Pompadour ; and Mme. d'Estrades is using every means to hasten the disgrace of the favourite. Strange things are seen at a Court ; it is a terrible school of crimes and wickedness, even in families.

The new pictures of our famous painters are being exhib-

ited in the Salon of the Louvre; above all are the portraits of our best academicians, done in pastel by La Tour; they are speaking.

Lately a lampoon against the King of Prussia has appeared in Paris with some such title as this, "Private life of the King of Prussia." It was secretly printed. Voltaire, displeased as he is with that king, is suspected of having composed this satire in a style that will not be recognized as his. This great poet can take any style he pleases, and the passion for satire makes him seize upon any that can best injure those whom he hates. This picture of the great King of Prussia is well adapted to make him despised in France, for it describes him as economical; that is enough to ruin him with Frenchmen.

It is to be feared that the King of Prussia will be indignant with France for the printing of this lampoon; he will complain of the want of courtesy in not prohibiting it; it has been sold, cheap, on our public promenades.

[September 3.] They have put in the Bastille the man who printed the libel against the King of Prussia entitled: "Memoir concerning the Person of the King of Prussia." This will be a slight satisfaction to that prince.

The "Society of the Anti-Gallicans" increases emulation in the taste for manufacturing French fashions in England; they have lately distributed more prizes for embroidery.

I have just received from Paris the satire entitled "Remonstrances of French actors;" it is very biting, and unfortunately the reproaches it casts upon the ministry for their bad success in all things is only too well founded.

[September 6.] The Queen of Sweden has established an Academy of Belles-Lettres. She is the patroness and has opened it in person; the ladies of her Court work there even more than the men.

On the 2d of this month the king answered fifteen deputies from the parliament of Rouen through the chancellor in a way to make one despair that the affair between parliament and the clergy can ever be settled. The king still gives to the bull *Unigenitus* the status of a judgment of the Church Universal in a matter of doctrine, and insists that it must be observed and respected as it was under the late king. He recalls the declarations of 1720 and 1730, which gave to the parliaments the right to prevent the Church from abusing her jurisdiction, but his Majesty absolutely forbids them to meddle in matters relating to the sacraments. He declares (this is remarkable) that in the royal person alone resides the plenitude of justice; that it is from the king alone that the magistrates derive their office and power to do justice to his subjects; and that when, for special reasons, the king chooses to reserve to himself knowledge of any cause and decide it by himself alone, he can do so.

This terribly biased decision being thus given, dissatisfaction, and even contempt are increasing on all sides. To govern with a rod of iron requires that the iron shall not give way, and it will give way; the forces of the State, the finances are failing everywhere, and soon the military power will break down.

[September 11.] I have news of the closing of the parliament at Pontoise; it has continued its proceedings in several affairs of schism, among others that of a rector in Poitiers, who compels his parishioners to sign a formulary for the bull *Unigenitus*; without which, no sacrament.

Parliament rose on the eve of the Nativity of the Virgin, simply adjourning to meet at Pontoise on the tenth of November, the eve of Saint Martin. Thus, no Vacation Chamber, no committees of the Council; the members have all gone tranquilly into the country. Resistance having

become invincible, the king merely says to his ministers, "Do not speak of this matter to me any more." But when the house is afire one must speak.

[September 17.] I have just been to Versailles. My brother seemed to me consumed with care and anxiety; I judge that some of the king's displeasure falls upon him for the distress into which he has thrown his Majesty. He now agrees with me that the matter is one of management and not of legislation, and that these bishops and priests who are fanning the flames should be punished, instead of rewarded as they are. In short, he has come round to my sentiments and my advice—which I have not spared him for the last two years.

I had a conversation with the Maréchal de Richelieu, touching the Protestants of the Cevennes; from which I conclude that the resolution is taken to make war upon the Huguenots in his district; many troops are being sent there. I told him to say less about his affairs to the bishops of Languedoc; he answered, laughing, that the king had become angelically pious, and would not do anything without the episcopate. It is certain that if this maréchal found himself at the head of a species of army in Languedoc, he would take pleasure in making himself necessary to the pacification of the troubles in the province and in the kingdom.

Voltaire is forbidden by the king himself to return to Paris. He is ill at Strasburg. By this little sop they expect to please the King of Prussia after displeasing him, as they have done, on more important matters.

The queen, being followed by an old litigant, a woman, who asked for charity on the plea that she was ruined by the cessation of the functions of parliament, said to the Maréchal de la Mothe, her gentleman of honour, "What does that old crazy woman want of me?" The maréchal

replied, "She wants your Majesty to have parliament restored." The queen answered, "I should be very sorry for that," — a speech that is known in Paris and has given much displeasure.

[September 22.] To-day the king receives at Versailles the new committee to take the functions of parliament established by letters patent September 18, under the name of Chamber of Vacations. His Majesty, they say, is to give them instructions himself as to what they are to do, and are not to do, — useless trouble and pure ceremony which the king has taken upon him, like all they are making him do in these days, which has neither aim nor object.

Many difficulties are foreseen in the execution of this plan. All the suits now on the records of parliament, whether civil or criminal, all that are with the reporters of cases, all that are on the records of the Châtelet, this new Chamber cannot obtain. The jailer of the Conciergerie has positive orders not to bring out the prisoners. Thus, at every step *lettres de cachet* will be required, orders of the Council compelling production, — sheriffs, force, and violence to do the slightest thing; all will be done by abuse of power, which will affect legitimate authority.

The Duc de Nivernais has just lost his only son; with him perishes, fortunately, the melancholy name of Mazarin, which has caused such horror to France. Thus perish, say Frenchmen, all those odious names of ministers who have despoiled and tyrannized over the kingdom.

[September 23.] Great complaints are being made in a circuit of twenty leagues around Paris of the vexations caused by the preserves of game, especially of rabbits and hares, which devastate the crops and ruin the poorer inhabitants. Since the Duc d'Orléans has had Villers-Cotterets,

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he has revived the *capitainerie* [preserve of game under an officer with the title of captain of the hunt], and there are now more than sixty estates for sale on account of these vexations with the princes. This taste for hunting, among our princes and grandees, is a scourge from heaven.

IX.

1753 — 1754.

[SEPTEMBER 25.] The new commission [to take the place of parliament] began its sessions yesterday at the Grands Augustins, merely to register its powers ; it will begin on Tuesday its sessions for judgment, if it can.

An attorney of the Châtelet told me that neither the Châtelet nor the other courts would obey this commission. To-morrow M. de Boynes, attorney-general, is to send the letters patent which establish the commission and its authority to all the prosecuting officers of the Courts. I know from many of them that their courts are determined to follow the example of the Châtelet, and that the Châtelet will hold firm in not obeying the commission. They believe that on their conduct depends the return of parliament, and they will sooner resign their offices and quit their functions ; they are about to assemble their auxiliaries, and all will stay in Paris, instead of leaving for the holidays.

[September 28.] The controller-general, in order to furnish money to the king secretly, and independently of the treasury, is smuggling on behalf of his Majesty ; he is bringing in, through the India Company, chintzes and other prohibited merchandise.

The infanta has at last started for the little State of her husband [Parma]. It is to be hoped that she may never come back to France. Is it just that the State should suffer because she is ill-married ? With her goes a great quantity

of carts laden with all sorts of things given to her by his Majesty.

Our principal manufactures are failing on all sides. That of Van Robais for woollens, which was so rich and so famous, does scarcely any work now; our rich people, or those who pique themselves on being so, are no longer willing to wear any but silk materials at all seasons. Andelis, in Normandie, where there was a manufactory of fine cloth with seventy looms, now counts only nine.

[October 1.] The commission for the new "Chamber of Vacations" has done nothing as yet; it holds its sessions surrounded by guards. They have been to the record-office of parliament to obtain the pouches, chiefly those of the criminal cases. The latter court has been ordered by letters patent to give up the bags, but the members have gone into the country, no one knows where. The other papers are in such confusion that they cannot make use of them.

The Châtelet, assembled to enregister the said letters patent, declares that it has to conform to what happened as to this in 1720. But the records of that time cannot be found, the search being made with much insincerity; meantime no registration; all the other courts are waiting, they say, till the Châtelet enregisters and recognizes the new chamber. What will the Court do now? Will it force the registration by royal command, constraint, and penalties? But if it does, the Châtelet, they say, will quit its functions, and the other courts, copying its example, will do the same. Then there would be no court of law functioning in the kingdom, and this, they think, is the only means of bringing back the parliament. The throne is plunging into worse and worse embarrassments daily.

[October 4.] They write me that the decision of the Châtelet is becoming a most serious affair for the govern-

ment, for on the day it was given, September 28, a great crowd gathered in all the halls of that court, and the king has held a council in Versailles about it. If the royal authority drives the Châtelet and the lesser judiciary courts to the wall, beware of the resistance which will throw the whole country into combustion.

[October 9.] There is no doubt that the Châtelet and other courts affiliated with the parliament of Paris will abandon their functions rather than submit to the commission sitting at the Grands-Augustins. In this case, all acts and deeds done by notaries and these commissioners will be null and void, and cannot be received or given. This makes money very scarce.

I hear that *lettres de cachet* were sent during the night to each member of the Châtelet ordering him not to quit the session but to wait the arrival of the Chamber from the Grands-Augustins. A writ is issued against the jailer who refuses to give up prisoners on the orders of the new commission. The auxiliaries of the Châtelet who are not in session are forbidden to assemble or to take part in any affair. They had proposed to assemble, but the lieutenant of police showed the positive order of the king forbidding it.

[October 10.] On the evening when the commissioners from the Grands-Augustins came to install themselves at the Châtelet in spite of that tribunal, the latter remained in session till ten o'clock at night and passed a resolution never to acknowledge other superiors than the parliament. The said commissioners came out looking pale and undone; they were much frightened; a large crowd surged into the halls of the Châtelet; the people showed alarm, saying that neither Paris nor the law had any security.

[October 12.] We are hinting to Genoa that its republic ought to beware of the enterprises of Austria since her ac-

quisition of Modena. Turin, Versailles, and Madrid seem to be the authors of that hint; small but frequent councils are held about it. It may be that our council and that of Madrid will become at last capable of some great enterprise, such as I urged so much in my day, with the object of driving the Germans out of Italy, and giving all their spoils to the King of Sardinia. There would always remain enough to make a great Italian power — Naples, Sicily, Parma, Rome, Venice, Genoa. Those powers would soon become strong and warlike, and they would have France and Spain behind them. True, Florence might be made into a republic; in that way the equilibrium would be greater; and to whatever height the Piedmontese might rise it would be less dangerous for us, and for Italy, than the House of Austria. Rumours and movements are announcing this, frequent councils are held, couriers are trotting, etc. There is business going on, and every one perceives it.

The explanatory manifesto is not difficult to make; the occasion should be taken of the treaty between Austria and Modena; it should say that the whole of Italy is threatened with shackles by that new acquisition, and that it is time to make a federal republic of her. France and Spain would be only belligerent auxiliaries, the King of Sardinia and the other Italian powers the principal belligerents to break the chains of the Holy Roman Empire — on which there are many historical researches to be made.

[October 15.] There has long been talk of a New Testament by Père Berruyer, Jesuit, in the style of his Old Testament, which was nothing but a scandalous romance, and it will be much worse to see the life of the Saviour of the world made into an old woman's novel. In spite of all prohibitions some one has found means to print the book, and I know that lately they have seized four thousand copies at

the gates of Paris ; but many have escaped, and the book will no doubt soon appear.

[October 17.] The Châtelet has joined to the printed copies of its late decree a copy of a decree of parliament given in 1726, forbidding all inferior tribunals to recognize any commission styling itself sovereign, the establishment of which has not been enregistered by parliament and confirmed by its own decree. Thus, day by day, the authority of the king in matters of justice and the tribunals is more and more questioned.

[October 27.] Publications, even to little stories written by hand which are sent innocently about in the various societies of Paris are forbidden. I know those especially in question, and they were wholly without reflections and wisely and impartially barren. These are superfluous precautions on the part of the government, but they show the sensitiveness of absolute power. The gazettes of France have become a mere repertory of European ceremonial, and foreign gazettes are rendered useless politically by the restrictions we impose upon them.

They send me word from Fontainebleau that the Court is becoming resplendent and beautiful ; and that the cause of its joy is a rumour universally believed that a reconciliation is to take place with parliament which will return to Paris at Martinmas, and this through the obedience of the clergy. My brother worked a long time with the king on Sunday ; which is the day for the Keeper of the Seals ; this has made the courtiers say that the chief affairs of the kingdom are confided to his ministry, and perhaps we shall have war without as surely as within, through his benign intentions.

[October 28.] Yesterday, Saturday, 27, there was a meeting of the auxiliaries of the Châtelet, and there is no doubt that if driven to extremities, these officers will quit

their functions absolutely, inasmuch as they are dishonoured and have no safety except in flight.

The king summoned the civic lieutenant to Fontainebleau the other day and said to him: "If the officers of the Châtelet are obedient to my orders I will be their protector and benefactor; if they are disobedient they will incur my indignation." On that there were meetings of the auxiliaries on two successive days, and the result was to protest against the operations of the new commission, to forbid the clerk to carry to it any records, and to declare that they neither could nor would recognize as their superiors the said commissioners of the Grands-Augustins.

[November 9.] The Châtelet, which was to have assembled on the 6th of this month, postponed its meeting until yesterday. We await with impatience the result of its deliberations on a new undertaking of the commission at the Augustins. A few days earlier the latter took by force the registers in the record office of the Châtelet and effaced the record of the deliberation which refused all power to the commission; but the original paper of that declaration was kept by the officers of the Châtelet, and will be preciously preserved by them.

[November 18.] The great news is that the parliament of Paris was ordered to be at Soissons on Monday, November 12, where the chief-president had already gone; the other chambers are to go there also, and they are all in a state of exile by *lettres de cachet* and virtual prohibition, these officers being there without duties or functions. Thus it is in vain for them to say in their remonstrances that the administration of justice cannot be stopped by sealed orders from the king, for as a matter of fact it is done. But I think that this increases rather than lessens the chances that parliament will be restored; because the king, wishing

to negotiate for the purpose of recalling it, it will thus be fully assembled and can agree on the legal propositions which may be made to protect the national rights. Still, this gain can only be foreseen attended by many difficulties, because, to reach it, the royal authority must retreat a great deal, and the Jesuits, meddling in the matter, will strike covert blows.

[November 13.] The whole Court is relying on what succeeded, fifteen years ago, in putting down the lawyers who refused to receive a bad ruling of M. de Fresnes. They began by firmness and ended by weakness; as soon as a few succumbed the rest did so too, and dishonoured themselves. The Sorbonne and the University were vanquished in this way, by which means good men and men of honour are eclipsed and fools and bad men put in the chief places. Certainly this is what they are seeking to do to the parliament, beginning with the lawyers. The Jesuitism which now governs us proceeds ever with a stick in one hand and a crown-piece in the other. That is how these cursed Italians who govern us think of Frenchmen; they believe us susceptible of this baseness, this fear of dismissal, and hope of paltry salary.

Unfortunately for this scheme the government is greatly diminished in wealth and authority; prodigality on one hand and on the other the want of respect into which it is falling render the stick shorter and the crown-piece smaller.

Unfortunately also the nation has conceived the idea that the dauphin is worse than the king in the matter of Jesuitism; this idea has reduced it to despair, and the result of such despair is a total uprising against royalty. These are baneful things, but *they are true*. The Court and the nation are too wide asunder to be reconciled; each day,

each step increases the alienation of these two enemies. What will come of it?

[November 14.] They write me from the provinces that the discontent of the people is even greater than in Paris; they have no money, yet the *taille* has been increased on pretext of some abundance, though abundance does not exist. The controller has felt everywhere to raise a royal loan, but the notaries declare they cannot find a sou to lend to the king, so great is the distrust in the government.

Yesterday, Tuesday, the sessions of the Royal Chamber were to begin. This improvised Chamber is composed of the king's Council, the councillors of State, and the masters of petitions. It holds its sessions at the Old Louvre, in the apartments of the queen-mother, which will produce some embarrassment about the prisoners. The king says in his declaration that the parliament of Paris has refused for six months to administer justice within the limits of its jurisdiction in spite of the reiterated orders and injunctions of his Majesty, and, the administration of justice being one of the principal duties of royalty, he has, for these causes, created this Chamber as much for civil as for criminal cases, with attorneys and solicitors-general for the whole jurisdiction of the parliament of Paris, enjoining all minor courts, seneschal courts, and bailiwicks within the said jurisdiction to recognize and obey it, and more particularly the Châtelet of Paris.

[November 15.] A man of the Court tells me that my brother is putting himself forward more than ever in these affairs, and that he seems to be the author of this terrible *coup d'État*; that he shows no depression; on the contrary, a great courage to conduct the affair to what, he says, the king desires. The declarations, memorials, and laws issued visibly from his shop, and the chancellor knew nothing of

them till they appeared. President Hénault is said to be his workman, and the papers are well-written; he answers for success; yet nothing is more uncertain, for the king may weary of it all when the danger increases. On Tuesday, the day of the first session of the Royal Chamber, patrols were placed in the streets to control the populace; which was thought, later, to be an evil omen and they were recalled.

The Marquise de Pompadour had to swallow a mortification lately. The king was going up to his cabinets to see his little Morfi; the marquise wished to follow him; the king forbade her twice, which made her sulk for five days.

A trifle, if you please, but one that has its importance, is the Opera, and its government. A man who knows all about it tells me that since the Opera was given to the city it has been going to its ruin; those who are ruining it say that the Hôtel de Ville has a strong back and can carry it, whereas formerly it was always in dread of bankruptcy. But, under the provost of the merchants and the city bureau the influence of the Court has upset its whole administration; the Marquise de Pompadour, the favourites, the *petits-maîtres* those who keep mistresses, all are intriguing to harass it and do harm there. The two inspectors, Rebel and Francœur, bring to bear upon it their partiality, their envy, and other harmful passions. They would not give it a director, partly for financial reasons and partly to please the actors and actresses; thus the latter, the most unreasonable of beings in themselves, squabble and are filled with more jealousy than ever. The secretary of State for Paris allows these disorders willingly, liking to let the courtiers have what they want in order to have his own way against them in matters more considerable, especially in regard to the marquise, who is nothing but a silly woman [*femmelette*], an

idle chatterer, meddling in things she knows nothing about. The consequence is that the Opera, which formerly owed a debt of seven hundred thousand *livres*, now owes one of a million and two hundred thousand, the city of Paris having borrowed five hundred thousand for which the Opera is responsible. The first gentlemen of the bed-chamber, especially the Maréchal de Richelieu, are inimical to the Opera, and have tried to do it all the harm they could, such as enticing away its actors and actresses, etc., during the sojourns at Fontainebleau. It is now two years since this began, and if it had not been for the Italian comic actors the Opera would have been closed the last two autumns.

Madame Victoire is very ill of a fever caused by multiplied indigestions. The princesses eat little at their public supper, but order little suppers in their cabinets, in imitation of the king, their father; they sit down to table at midnight and stuff themselves with wine and meats.

[November 21.] It is now said that the erection of the Royal Chamber is only a farce played to save the honour of the royal authority, that parliament is soon to be reinstated, and that secret negotiations to that end are going on.

[November 24.] The news of the Châtelet is afflicting to law and justice. The declaration for the establishment of the Royal Chamber was sent to the *Parc civil* [one of the auxiliary courts], with a *lettre de cachet* containing an order to register it, "without any deliberation." In consequence, this was done, with the following endorsement: "We, by the very express command of the king have certified these letters and decrees without deliberating upon them; in conformity with that command we give letters to the king's attorney-general, the applicant, of the reading and publication of the letters patent, to be executed, etc."

After this, the counsellors having called for an assembly of

the Châtelet, the civic lieutenant showed them another *lettre de cachet* which forbade their assembling on this subject, all the lieutenants having received the same orders from the king.

Thus the royal authority marches haughtily on, striking off first the big heads, which resist, then the lesser ones, which, like this one, cannot hold their own. There is little to hope from the provincial parliaments; some will throw up their heads like that of Provence, but the others dare not do so, being throttled and garoted by their heads and tails, that is, by their presidents and the king's lawyers.

Thus Turkey is governed; not that they do actions there more cruel than these, only that they can do them; no forms, no fundamental rules. This is what is happening to us; and we see on all sides an irruption of greed. Security for the honour, life, and property of private individuals depends solely on the national suffrage which resides still in the parliaments. All corporation is being abolished in France; properly speaking, only two provinces remain that are governed by parliaments, and even they are shorn of much authority by the intendants and the directors of the fresh extortions.

[November 28.] The book of Père Berruyer, the Jesuit, continues to make a great noise. In the preface there are bold things that smack of Père Hardouin, chiefly about Saint Augustine. Several bishops have asked the king's permission to condemn the book. The Archbishop of Narbonne made a formal request to his Majesty on this point. The king asked him if he had read the book; he replied that he had not. "Then," said the king, "how can you condemn it?"

[December 2.] On the first of this month the Schedules deposited in the record-office of the Consuls show the number of bankruptcies among the merchants as more than

eight hundred. The most honest of these merchants, who wanted to maintain their credit by keeping on their usual course with the same number of shopmen have come down head foremost. This is how commerce is now going. Rents of houses are falling; no one is having new clothes this winter; no one leaves the country to come to Paris; the Opera is ruined, and there will be few foreigners in town; the troubles in the tribunals affect everything. With it all, the poverty is frightful; nothing is seen but beggars; provisions have doubled in price, especially vegetables.

[December 7.] The Châtelet, with every possible desire to assemble and protest, has not yet found a way to do so; it is guarded almost within sight.

The king has a swelled face from a tooth, with fever; Madame Victoire is again ill with fever and rush of blood to the head.

I have just come from Paris, where I learned many important things on the state of affairs. The king is extremely gloomy since his return from Fontainebleau; everything irritates him; his servants now detest him. It is thought that the bad position in which he has put himself has soured his blood, to which may be added the suppers and amusements his mistress and the favourites give him.

It was thought that Mme. de Pompadour would be dismissed at the end of the stay at Fontainebleau; but the fact is just the contrary; she appears at Versailles as a greater favourite than ever. The Maréchal de Richelieu has returned to Languedoc with that vexation on his mind. Discontent is universal in Paris, and the king is hated in a way to make one fear all things for his authority. No one is paid; the wages of the king's household are three years in default; the receivers-general of finance are paying out at

present the first quarter of the revenues of 1755, and know not where they are.

The Châtelet, which they thought was crushed, rises again and shows itself as far removed as ever from the registration of the Royal Chamber demanded of it "without deliberation." It claims two things: the right to deliberate, and the assembly of its auxiliaries. Parliament also claims that the laws registered at *lits de justice* are not legitimate laws, for want of free deliberation; it contents itself however with not quoting them, and does not go so far as making a formal opposition. As for the assembling of auxiliaries, the Court replies that all edicts and declarations will be registered at the *Parc civil* only, and the assembling is not necessary except for matters of discipline affecting parliament itself.

[December 8.] The king has twice proposed to the Comte de Charolais to render his account as guardian of his nephew the Prince de Condé; but M. de Charolais replies that there are no judges, and that he must in that case go before an assembly of the princes. This idea of assembling the princes at such a time as this causes terror.

The king has had an apartment made for the little Morfi at Versailles over that of the head *valet de chambre*. They say that his Majesty is not well and is changing much; the present state of affairs has a good deal to do with it.

Yesterday, 7th, the four auxiliary courts met in the Chamber of the Châtelet before going into session, and on learning that there was talk of arresting some of their number, among them one of their chiefs, they informed the civic lieutenant as follows: "That they found themselves unable to assemble and deliberate for want of freedom in their decisions and because of the decrees of captivity against their colleagues; which vexation deprived them of the composure of mind necessary to decide on the affairs of

private persons involving the honour, property, and opinions of citizens."

This was not saying positively that they abandoned their functions; but they did abandon them, having instantly left the Châtelet, leaving the civic lieutenant there alone, and informing him that they should not return.

[December 9.] Five letters have appeared in favour of the bull Unigenitus and against the remonstrances of Parliament. They are said to be strong and persuasive; but no matter what is said, sophisms against truth cannot be other than a bad work; I would as soon see proofs against the four propositions of 1682. But the royal family has been imbued with these furious sentiments against the inward convictions of the nation; the queen and the dauphin fall upon them and excite themselves more and more on the subject. This position frightens the king, always timid, without firmness. What a sight is this of the royal family and a few hypocritical and grasping courtiers taking part and boldly raising the banner of opposition to the fixed sentiments of the whole nation represented by the magistracy!

But there is talk of a *subterraneous hand* leading the king to resist the counsels of these ultramontanes. Whose hand is it? Some one, perhaps, of the marquise's party; that party has the Keeper of the Seals with it and a few favourites, enemies of my brother, who decry both him and his advice as much as they can,—advice the ill-success of which is a better criticism upon it than any words. But I suspect another influence. M. Chauvelin has always continued the great friend of the Princesse de Conti; she has much part in ruling her son, and the latter is now working constantly with the king and has his ear. We see the king resisting the episcopal promptings, but he is capable by himself of none but short fights, never of peremptory and victorious decisions.

[December 14.] The Grand Chamber of parliament holds firm at Soissons, and so do the other chambers in their various exiles. The other parliaments and bailiwicks of the country are preparing obstacles to the suppression of the parliament of Paris.¹

I have had a visit from the sub-dean of the Châtelet, who tells me that nothing could be more out of rule than what the ministry is doing to surmount the obstacles to the recognition of the Royal Chamber. He says they act as if it were already recognized, whereas, in fact, it is not; for enregistering without deliberation is not enregistration at all; enregistering can only follow *judgment*. The clerk wrote it down, and that was all.

The bailiwick of Soissons has enregistered in due form and recognizes the Royal Chamber in the face of the Grand Chamber exiled there. No one goes to Soissons to see the exiles, as they did at Pontoise, to which they were not exiled, merely transferred. The officers of the parliament wear swords as gentlemen, and not as magistrates. All this produces a certain languor among the members whether of the parliament or the Châtelet, but this languor in no wise affects their firmness, nor does the fear of losing their offices.

[December 15.] There is great talk about Jean-Jacques Rousseau, a pretended philosopher of Geneva, who has published a pamphlet against French music, wishing that there had never been any. His proofs consist of a great and pedantic array of musical science to establish that what charms is bad, and what rasps is good. A *lettre de cachet* was

¹ Many of the other parliaments of the kingdom, those of Rouen, Bretagne, Toulouse, Provence, etc., took part in concert with the parliament of Paris. D'Argenson gives particulars, with names and incidents now of little value, and rather confusing to the more important tale of the parliament of Paris and the Châtelet. — Tr.

sent to make him leave the kingdom, but some stupid artists got it withdrawn. His entrance is forbidden at the Opera, where men who recognized him maltreated and kicked him. The orchestra hung him in effigy. This is becoming a national quarrel; his pamphlet has already been answered by one that was too brief, and they are now working at a more extended one. I would furnish many arguments to any one I knew who was working on it.

At Soissons the Grand Chamber is behaving with a new sort of dignity, which had not occurred to the other exiles at Bourges, Châlons, etc. The magistrates no longer wear their robes; they are in modest clothes with the sword; they do not wear family mourning, or else, black waistcoats only. Their wives are magnificently dressed, their houses brilliantly illuminated, grand suppers and fêtes continually; they are much more by themselves than at Pontoise; no one going from Paris to see them because of their disgrace. The chief-president has returned the visits of all who have called upon him, to show that he no longer exercises his dignity.

The Comte de Charolais being lately with the king, his Majesty asked him when he meant to send in his account as guardian of the Prince de Condé. The Comte de Charolais answered that he could send them in to none but the Grand-Chamber of parliament; whereupon the king turned his back to him.

The Maréchal de Richelieu has fallen into the trap of the bishops and renews the persecution against the Protestants of the Cévennes. Thirty-two battalions more than usual have been sent this autumn to our southern provinces; it was thought that the object was to break up the treaty of Modena by military demonstrations in concert with the King of Sardinia. But it was not so; there are five or six preachers to seize, and this is the game they promise to the said

maréchal. I have had a conversation with him on the subject ; I see that he has let himself be governed, without being aware of it, by the spirit of the bishops of Languedoc, which is to dragoon, to convert by musket-shots, and he does not, or will not, listen to any of the wise principles of toleration which seek conversion and uniformity of consciences by humane and well reasoned policy. I suspect only too much that in this are the promptings of personal ambition, which will light the torch of war in our southern provinces, as it did forty-five years ago under the haughty leader Bâville in the reign of that bigot Louis XIV. Oh, unhappy France!

There has been great talk in certain quarters of Paris about the good reception the king gave me on my last visit to Versailles, and on his having done me the honour to speak to me several times and to show me particular kindness. They say that his Majesty destines me to some important ministry ; but at the same time they say that my brother is to be declared prime-minister as soon as he is cured of his gout, from which he is now suffering a long and dangerous attack.

[December 19.] Yesterday must have been a fatal day for the courts of justice (I do not yet know the particulars). There was to be a meeting at the Châtelet, touching the recognition of the Royal Chamber. The king sent three days ago *lettres de cachet* to all and each of the members of the Châtelet ordering them to recognize the superior Chamber ; their answer was that it was matter for a new clause in the remonstrance they were already preparing (formal disobedience) ; and it was not doubted that when they assembled yesterday they would, urged by their president, who has the orders of the king, abandon their functions, their offices, and even their liberty ; for after taking that course,

the Court may exile or imprison them. But the thing to fear, they say, is an uprising in Paris.

The Protestants of the Cévennes are bestirring themselves in all directions, and assembling in great numbers. I know that those of Saintonge are now in movement; those of the Cévennes and Languedoc are still quiet, but they know that war is preparing against them, and that forty battalions more than usual are held ready to destroy them when they say a word. The intendant of Languedoc, Saint-Priest, is a scoundrel devoted to the marquise and M. de Machault, though he stands rather ill with the Maréchal de Richelieu. He fomented all the trouble he can in Languedoc to increase his own fortune. The Maréchal de Richelieu, who commands that province for a year, has the same intentions on his account; that is how our best provinces are governed!

[December 21.] The answer of the Châtelet was just what was expected, firm and of great dignity. Tuesday the judges decided all cases then before them, with great attention to giving definitive sentences not susceptible of appeal to another chamber. That afternoon and Wednesday morning they deliberated and ended their decree as follows: "The king is master of our property and lives, but not of our honour; therefore we cannot go against our oath by recognizing any other superior than the parliament, which we entreat the king to bring back."

It seems that the bailiwick of Soissons, when enregistering the letters patent for the Royal Chamber, showed all possible horror at the constraint, and the address of the public prosecutor on this occasion will be forever memorable. It was as follows:—

"The trouble in which we are can be made known only by silence, the sign of true sorrow. All our reflections are kept within us; the sole action left to us is that of submis-

sion; a blind resource, but common to feeble men in difficult questions. This obedience is less an act of liberty than the expression of *constraint*, and a homage paid to authority."

I say that speech will stand forever as a monument to tyranny; I doubt if the Roman senate spoke otherwise under certain emperors who surrounded it with troops.

[December 27.] They are desperate at Court about the resistance of the Châtelet; after having despised that little tribunal, they now consider it so much as to talk of nothing else. It is evident that it will never recognize the authority of the Royal Chamber. Great blows, it is said, will be struck at this tribunal; it is to be suppressed, and graduates and associate judges are being trained to take its place. The Royal Chamber shows much bitterness to all connected with the Châtelet, and carries its ill-will far.

The chancellor [Lamoignon] haranguing the deputies from the Châtelet in his own house, made the following historical remark: "Charles VII. drove out the English, Louis XIII. brought down the pride of the House of Austria, Louis XIV. extirpated heresy, and Louis XV. cannot do less than make the Châtelet obey him."

[December 31.] Day before yesterday, Saturday, being the day for an assembly of the auxiliaries of the Châtelet, Mme. de Pompadour advised certain officers of those companies, whom she knew, to resolve on nothing more than an interlocutory judgment, because the whole affair would come to an end before the 15th of January. Consequently, the deliberation was interlocutory and equivocal (the orders of the king having been to register without deliberating), and they decreed, Saturday, 29th, to postpone their declaration till January 15th.

Thus ends the present year, 1753, with many troubles and weaknesses within the kingdom, and by a veritable cessation

of all plans and negotiations outside of it. Our France no longer plays a rôle in Europe, and is threatened by insult and attack from her neighbours if this weakness continues and increases. Every day this reign of Louis XV. is compared more and more to the fatal reign of Henri III.; and the feature of this parallel which strikes me with most force is the need both monarchs have had of a prime-minister, whom, nevertheless, they have avoided taking through wilfulness and obstinacy. Let us take as a general rule that, a monarchy being a good government, it needs *a monarch*, but that if there is none, it is worse than anarchy. Thus, every time that a king, assuming to govern by himself, has nothing but feebleness of will, ignorance, indolence, inaptitude for plans and principles, and is effeminate, easy to seduce, a bad judge of men, yet obstinate from vanity in not taking a prime-minister, that king's reign will cause the kingdom to fall into decadence, and its reputation will be even more injured by opinion than it is practically. Henri III. would have been saved at any moment during his reign if he had taken a prime-minister; and it is the same to-day. With us, prime-ministers have alarmed the nation when they have been chosen from among the great seigneurs; thus the mayors of the palace usurped the crown, and the Montmorencys and Guises came near usurping it with even more violence; but if they are chosen from the robe, that nursery of ministers and statesmen, there will be no danger and many resources.

But those who are to-day in charge of the divers departments talk as if it were a great evil to break up the equilibrium among the ministers. No! it would be a great good, and not an evil; it is even a matter of necessity, and they would find it so if they loved their country. Instead of this, they now compose a species of ill-arranged republic,

and it is there that seduction fools the self-love of an almost imbecile monarch to crush the nation under a bad government. I ask what would have been the reign of Louis XIII., the regency of Anne of Austria, and the reigns of many other mediocre rulers whom history reveals to us if there had been no such rupture of equilibrium, and no prime-ministers, absolute over the other ministers?

All rests on that to-day; let us hope and pray that Louis XV., the Well-beloved, may make himself really loved by his actions as well as by his nature, by speedily taking an honest prime-minister who will re-establish public affairs with prudence and intelligence.

[January 3, 1754.] The Royal Chamber does almost nothing; it is in total disrepute among the barristers. A few solicitors having gone there, their colleagues declared to them that when parliament was reinstated they would not be received back into the community, and that none of them would plead for them. Immense charities are being done among the barristers for the poorer lawyers, to support them for the sake of the common cause.

At the *prima mensis* of the Sorbonne this month there was a great uproar on the subject of the Abbé de Prades. That abbé having become reader and favourite of the King of Prussia, the latter wrote in his own name to the pope through the Bishop of Breslau. The Holy Father has written a brief to Cardinal de Tencin ordering that the affair be reviewed. Cardinal de Tencin is prior of the Sorbonne and in favour of the Abbé de Prades; he sent the brief to the Sorbonne and it was read at the assembly of the *prima mensis*. In it much harm was said of the Bishop of Mirepoix; and the reader of the Sorbonne skipped those unpleasant passages. He was ordered to read the whole; a large party in the Sorbonne side with the Abbé de Prades. This

party expected to overthrow the condemnation, so there was, and will be, an uproar about the matter.

[January 11.] One of the ministers told me yesterday that for the last fortnight the king had not spoken to the ministers nor to the Council respecting the parliament or the Châtelet; and that something was being said (though no one knew anything) of a negotiation through the Prince de Conti for the return of parliament. If that is so, I do not doubt that the former Keeper of the Seals, Chauvelin, is the adviser of the prince and will be at the head of the arrangement.

The chancellor said before five persons that if parliament were not back by the 20th of this month it would not return in ten years; a foolish speech, and one for which he was blamed in presence of the king; for how can he answer for such a thing?

[January 15.] It has been said that M. Chauvelin would soon be placed at the head of affairs, but it is not so; he denies it to his best friends. I know from himself that his plan for reconciling the affair of the parliament is almost the same as mine: 1st, to bring back the parliament without saying why; 2d, to revive the law of silence on the bull Unigenitus, and threaten those who break it with punishment as perturbators of the public peace; 3d, to mildly order all the bishops to return to their dioceses.

[January 20.] I know that his Majesty has spoken (in his private chamber) with great eulogy of M. Chauvelin, saying that he had no man in his kingdom more capable; he said also that he could not trust my brother in anything. Rumours to the advantage of M. Chauvelin are spreading about Paris; he received more visits at the beginning of this year than ever before, and I know what civilities are being shown to him for this reason.

[January 26.] The queen said to the Archbishop of Paris on the last visit she received from him: "My dear papa" (that is how she calls him), "continue to hold firm for submission to the bull, otherwise religion is lost in France." The dauphin said the same thing. The archbishop is taking away the powers of all the priests and confessors who do not show enough zeal for the bull, and who are suspected of confessing Jansenists. On this ground he has just taken them from Père Bernard, a Jacobin monk and a famous preacher; he sends vicars to the rectors of Paris whose zeal he doubts (my own rector of Saint-Eustache is among them) to force them to compel their penitents to sign notes of confession. In the town of Chartres the last sacraments have just been refused for want of these notes of confession.¹ I heard President Hénault, who is much mixed up in Court affairs, talking of all this yesterday; he declaimed against the parliament, and assured us that that body had no other object than to overthrow the royal authority, and that if it ever returned to its functions that would be the end of the royal power in France.

Last Friday, all of a sudden, a crowd of more than ten thousand bourgeois collected around the Palais de Justice crying out "Vive le parlement!" a rumour having been spread about that the rooms were being made ready. This rumour was caused by the care-taker of the straw mattings; for it must be known that in consequence of the dampness

¹ It seems incredible that this bull *Unigenitus*, based, and knowingly based, on nothing at all, on no facts, no principles, simply on an invented accusation of a thing that never existed, should, nevertheless, have been able to convulse France and produce for nearly fifty years more sorrow, despair, and agony than a dozen Saint Bartholomews. It is worth while to turn to what Saint-Simon and Mme. de Motteville both say, from different stand-points, of the nature and origin of this monstrous thing. — Tr.

of the building straw mattings are used everywhere, behind the tapestries as well as underfoot. The care-taker, finding that his mats were rotting in the garret, suddenly resolved to clean the rooms and put in the mattings. He sent for twenty workmen and went to work. Instantly the rumour spread around the palais; the shop-keepers told their neighbours, and these told others that the palace was being made ready for the return of parliament; hence there happened what I have said, but the rumour was soon contradicted.

The birth of a child to the little Morfi is daily expected, which will give her the title of mistress in chief and cause the dismissal of the marquise. But this does not prevent the king from having a third mistress, who lives, closely hidden, in his apartments.

[February 9.] Mme. de Pompadour has spoken to the king with great force and even harshness, representing to him the necessity that he should end the affair of the parliament and the Châtelet, failing which he will be despised, his authority will become nothing, and all will fall to pieces more and more. To which the king made no answer and turned his back to her; so there is little chance that he will ever again speak to her on the subject; as for the chancellor, he will never risk another word.

What can one say of a royal silence which has lasted a month or more, on a matter so urgent? It cannot be believed that this is indifference, or an absolute determination to hear no more of a vexing matter. Is it hope in the benefits of time? but the house is on fire, the conflagration of disorder and revolt is spreading. Is my brother, sole minister secretly and intimately (if he be so), is he meditating with the king the annihilation of parliament, to form another at Easter under conditions more favourable to despotism? Or does the king, in secret council (very secret and unknown to

my brother), does he meditate some other *coup d'État* which is only that of a change of ministry and the taking of a prime-minister? I think the preceding course more to the taste of his Majesty; for it needs a strong head and a great one for the generous course I have described; instead of which, that of obstinacy (not constancy) seems more to the taste of the king.

We live under a king very weak in mind, it is true, but strong in wilfulness, rendered such by the two governors who have brought him up, — Cardinal de Fleury and my brother. They trained him to *finesse*; he is a good player of cards by nature; he makes it his glory to put others on the wrong scent and to do it doubly and trebly; he takes mystery for secrecy; he has been inspired with dislike of the public good, claiming all things for his own authority, despising good citizens and sincere and virtuous men as fools.

My brother feared at first that his ministry [of war] would bore the king after peace was made. To prop himself he invented changes of system, but the king did not take to them and yawned. Then he tried councils of inspectors, but they soon became muddled; finally he resolved to stop work altogether and turn over to Maréchal de Belleisle the regulation of the department, which the latter sabres and rules.

I know that my brother manages the king thus: he seeks his will and his inclinations, he reads in his eyes what he wants, he encourages his weaknesses to get the benefit of them, and he never presents any subject to him for fear of not pleasing him in all things. He has recommended . . . to never suggest any purpose to him, but always to await his first words and execute them. Courtier and flatterer, but never a minister, he has allowed the public good to perish and even the personal interests of the king, rather than give up this terrible practice of flattery.

I hear that the provost of the merchants, in concert with the Sieur Pâris-Duverney, has proposed an institution which will bring in eleven hundred thousand *livres* a year, with which they will build, both at once, the new Hôtel de Ville and the École Militaire. This institution, which is called, I think, the "Annonciade," succeeds well in Naples, and the Queen of Hungary has just established one in Vienna. It is a lottery, or a game, which is drawn weekly, of which the lottery tickets circulate in the money-market, a fine way for the managers of the institution to make their profits, and a great corruption of morals, as were the games at the hôtel de Gesvres, and the hôtel de Soissons which were suppressed; absolute swindling! terrible expedient!

There is talk of a new refusal of the sacraments in the parish of Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs, on which the Châtelet issued a writ against the rector.

[February 18.] Here are the particulars of what happened at Saint-Nicolas. A worthy bourgeois was thought to be Jansenist; he fell ill and died; he had confessed to whom he chose and asked for the sacraments; the vicar of Saint-Nicolas came and demanded his note of confession; he had none to give; the name of his confessor, he did not name him. On which the vicar asked to speak with him in private, without his wife (a great Jansenist). The sick man said that they tormented him, he had nothing to conceal from his wife, and would confess in her presence if necessary. The vicar refused, and the man died without the sacraments.

The question now is how to bury him. The rector of Saint-Nicolas has consulted the Archbishop of Paris; the prelate is embarrassed; he decides that they may bury him in consecrated ground, but without any ringing of bells. Complaint is made to the Châtelet; the counsellors would gladly assemble and deliberate, but the civic lieutenant stops

them by order of the king. And thus the subjects of discontent and uprising are continued.

[February 28.] There is talk of war with the Huguenots, and if to the resistance of the Protestants should be joined that of those who are discontented with the government it may turn into civil war. We have sent this year many more troops than usual into Lower Languedoc, some say to support the King of Sardinia, others to repress the Huguenots of the Cévennes, and that Maréchal de Richelieu is to command them, be it for either enterprise; if so his ambition will become the mainspring of these costly and dangerous designs.

Many smugglers coming from Savoie have crossed the frontier and inundated our southern provinces; and I am assured that they have brought to the Huguenots of the Cévennes enough arms to furnish a hundred thousand men. All this is preparation for attack and defence by arms, whereas fixed regulations exist certain, if put in practice, to tranquillize and even to end this division of sects in France. I have written two memorials on the subject, which I have sent to Maréchal de Richelieu.

[March 2.] Affairs on the subject of the bull are thought to be more tangled than ever. A great deputation from the parliament of Provence is on its way to Paris to represent the evil done by the bull *Unigenitus*. The Court endeavoured to stop its coming when too late; it had already started for Paris. The chief-president, who is also intendant of the province, declared to his parliament that he would have put himself at the head of the deputation if he were not restrained from quitting the province without permission.

The rumour is strong, however, that the king has hastened his departure for Compiègne, and that from there he will go

to Soissons and hold a *lit de justice*, at which he will launch thunderbolts on the parliament, the jurisdiction of which will be parcelled out to others, while many of its offices will be suppressed. In short, it is to be a day of vengeance — which God forbid!

We have letters from officers writing from Languedoc, that powder and balls have just been issued to them; that the troops are to march against the Huguenots of the Vivarais; that a new declaration of the king is about to be issued annulling all their marriages made in the desert; that the bishops assembled at Montpellier are eagerly driving on this engine of persecution, and that Maréchal de Richelieu wants to cover himself with glory by his generalship in a civil war; and finally that the smugglers of Savoie did bring in arms and ammunition enough to supply one hundred thousand men.

[March 5.] I learn these further details on the same subject: Maréchal de Richelieu has published his ordinance, in which he commands the troops to attack all Huguenots who form meetings to celebrate their heretical rites; it was for this that powder and ball were issued to the troops. On the promulgation of this order many of the religionists left the kingdom; five thousand inhabitants quitted Nîmes. Thus everything is tending to civil war; and the king employs his troops against his own subjects.

It is the priests who incite, on all sides, to these troubles and disorders; consequently minds are everywhere turning to discontent and disobedience, and all things are marching on to a great revolution in religion as well as in the government.

The Maréchal de Richelieu has been accused of receiving presents from Huguenots to leave them in peace; he pretends to be as severe against them as he has hitherto been

indulgent. But his profits from the generalship will only be the greater; for every one knows there are great gains to gather in war for those who love money; add to which the glory of command, the conquest of pretended rebels, the extirpation of heresy, and all this will ring his name beside that of his great-uncle Cardinal de Richelieu. At Court they have worked to send him away on this mission because he is a species of favourite. Such are the secret springs which move the machinery of France, which is, more and more, being destroyed.

[March 13.] One of the principal officers of the Châtelet has instructed me at great length on the position of the minds of that assembly. A warrant for the arrest of the rector of Saint-Nicolas will be issued to-morrow. He is already under injunction not to fulfil his public functions. On Sunday evening there were from seven to eight thousand persons in his church to see if he would dare to come, and the people talked of dragging him from the altar by the hair of his head if he ventured to go up there. It is thought that he has disappeared.

If the Council issues any further decree, forbidding the Châtelet to take cognizance of acts of schism, if proscriptions are continued, if more of its officers are put in the Bastille, there is no doubt that the Châtelet will quit its functions, and will do so from a well meditated decision. This decision will carry with it that the civic lieutenant, the presidents, the king's lawyers, also all members and agents, such as notaries, commissioners, solicitors, prosecutors, and ushers, shall also quit their functions, until such time as his Majesty shall render them the justice due to them and has re-established parliament in its rightful position. To this will be joined the jurisdiction of the Hôtel de Ville and the *consuls* [commercial judges], etc., failing which Paris will be left

absolutely without judges and without law and order. There is no doubt that emissaries of the parliament are now scouring Paris and the provinces to prove to the inhabitants that this form of general revolt is the sole means of re-establishing affairs and of getting rid of the ministers who are giving to the king such bad advice.

The military are not more submissive than the robe; everywhere they are saying hard things about the use of soldiers against the king's own people, and the talk everywhere is of change and revolution as much in religion as in government.

[March 15.] The Maréchal de Richelieu has not been the dupe of his mission in Languedoc; he has abridged matters, used rigour against the Huguenots and then, without having done them much harm, returns to Court, where our intriguing ministers hoped they were rid of him. He is now on his way to Bordeaux; from there to his estate of Richelieu, whence he will re-appear at Court in May.

The king having determined not to go to Marly this spring, they reckon it a saving to the finances of two million five hundred thousand *livres*. His Majesty has resolved not to sleep away from Versailles during Lent, and to go to Choisy on Saturdays only for his supper-dinners.

[March 16.] Last Sunday the Jesuit, Père Laugier, preached at Versailles an altogether fanatical sermon on the support that kings owe to true dogma, and the prosecution which they ought to carry on against sectarians. He exhorted the king to punish the magistrates (as if he had not done that sufficiently!); he spoke of the unbelievers of to-day as the makers of rebellion, inasmuch as it was they who dared to assert that kings were not established by God.

— Yes, royalty was established by God, but the person of kings is by human election.

Judging by this sermon, of which every one is talking, the Jesuits are beginning to appear with uncovered faces, and soon they will do so insolently, finding all the courts that could repress them closed.

X.

1754.

[MARCH 19, 1754.] I am assured that there is never a night when poor bourgeois are not arrested and carried off; men who have no families, and those whom they fear may contribute to sedition in these times. The authorities take them, I am assured, out of Paris and no one knows what becomes of them after that. It is said that the commissaries of police make the *procès-verbaux*, and that every other night they are forced to sit up for that purpose; the watchmen walk about all night in citizen's clothes to watch those that are captured and pass them from post to post.

The Marquise de Pompadour and those of her party make no secret of declaiming against my brother, attributing to him the woes of the country, and the fatal error into which the monarch has fallen in this matter of priests and magistrates. The Sieur Collin, man of business to the marquise, goes about openly publishing these remarks, and so does the Sieur Bouret, farmer-general, and his clerks, who are all great favourites of the Keeper of the Seals.

Mme. de Pompadour has done all she can to arrange during Lent a few trips for the king to Bellevue, but his Majesty prefers to stay in Versailles, where the little Morfi will soon give birth to a child, and will then insist on the former sultana being driven away. My brother secretly inspires the Morfi with many subtleties, for he expects to gain much by the expulsion of the Pompadour. Truly, the latter plays her last card and declaims as she should against

the sacerdotal party which has made a detested tyrant of a well-beloved and hitherto obeyed king.

[April 2.] The resistance of the Châtelet is greater than ever, and shown more openly. The civic lieutenant having brought the most precise and plain orders from the king forbidding them "to assemble or deliberate on any other subject than matters of legal contention," the Châtelet did not hesitate to vote that they would continue to assemble on affairs of schism in view of the absence of parliament, and that their representation of March 9 be made known to the king through the chancellor, showing that their company "is established by ordinances, the execution of which forms part of the law of the kingdom, and that the said company would be useless to the public if it could not deliberate and treat of affairs which concern, as these do, the interests of religion and the State." The assembly then adjourned until Friday, April 8, to continue the deliberation. Thus we have the spectacle of forty bourgeois holding out against the royal authority as firmly as the parliament of Paris; which ought to make us feel to what a high degree French honour has attained on these points.

Much is being said of the sermon preached at Versailles before the king two weeks ago by the Jesuit Laugier on flattery, which was full of very bold shafts addressed to the king. He thundered against his pleasures, and the dauphin seemed to applaud; he urged the king to give to religion its due and to confound all rebels; he said that Haman would be punished, and that a new Mordecai would arise who would avenge religion and the State. He meant M. de Machault by Haman, and my brother by Mordecai, but the audience took it otherwise. A princess said that evening that if she knew which was Mordecai she would leave her name at his door.

The king on returning from the sermon said to my brother: "That preacher was very bold; he spoke against all you ministers; I ought to have him warned to be more circumspect in future; but they say so many things against the Jesuits in public that it is better not to give any fresh grounds for it."

[April 15.] The king is more than ever plunged into ephemeral loves; he has several little grisettes at once, and does not follow either reason or nature, so much have those about him corrupted his naturally good disposition. The dauphin and the rest of the royal family are all equally sunk into subjection to priests, which makes one despair of the kingdom of France.

Père Laugier continues to preach sermons of affected boldness. His sermon last Sunday had for subject the power and duty of kings; he spoke of the subjection of kings to the laws very much as parliament has spoken of it in its remonstrances. Every one is astonished at the course of this Jesuit; people do not reflect how shrewd these priests are; they want to be able to say that they mingle in no evil and are openly as good Frenchmen as they are said to be bad ones.

[April 23.] Père Laugier, the Jesuit, ended his lenten services at Versailles as he began them. On Easter-day he preached against parliament and concluded in the style of a prosecuting attorney by demanding that it be dismissed, dispersed, annihilated, as impious and the destroyer of religion. It is confidently asserted that my brother gave him the plan and outline of these bold sermons; in fact, my brother is now regarded as the head of the Church, that is to say, of tyrannical superstition.

It was remarked on the drive along the road to Long-champs during the last three days in Holy Week that never

before was there seen such a triumph of courtesans. Prostitutes and kept women flaunted in carriages with magnificent liveries, wearing jewels and diamonds, — all this exterior surpassing that of women of the highest rank. The fashion has changed as to this in France; never has the magnificence of debauchery been pushed to such extremes. Formerly a modest establishment was given to a mistress; to-day they ask incomes and diamonds. It is observable that the poorer the nobles are becoming in revenue, the more they are increasing in magnificence of luxury on their tables, houses, furniture, snuff-boxes, mistresses; the former moderate expenditure is thought discreditable to-day in those who still keep to it.

Père Laugier said in his last sermon that blood was always necessary to extinguish heresy, and that it was better to shed a few drops at first, and thus spare floods in the end. This remark scandalized many persons; but they are all so throttled by despotism that they cannot extricate themselves.

Cattle are dying everywhere for want of pasturage on account of the drought, and the peasants are sending them to Paris for sale. It was noticed at the fair at Poissy on Holy Thursday that more than double the usual number of horned beasts were offered for sale, which will make meat plentiful in Paris for a month, but after that it will be worth, they say, ten sous a pound.

[April 27.] It is said at Versailles that the affair of the parliament is about to be healed by the channel of the Prince de Conti: that on Tuesday last the prince worked with the king three hours, after which the king had a radiant and joyful air, which looks, they say, like the joy of relief. But beware of *inimicus homo* who may destroy these gleams of hope.

A new book has just appeared bearing the title: "Maxims on the Duty of Kings and the good Use of their Authority;" drawn from different preachers, and especially from the sermons preached before the king. It is a book put forth by the parliamentarians to show his Majesty the dangerous errors of his conduct. They have had the temerity to put in italics that which applies to the king under existing circumstances, and his principal minister (my brother) on the present troubles. It is all very bold and only too true. Thus we see the public of to-day agitating dangerous questions, and sowing in minds that which may lead them to regard the royal power as a false and tyrannous right. After having thus persuaded minds, who shall say that bodies may not be moved in the same direction? Whose blame will it be? Certainly that of the government, which, exciting the people to grope in these depths, have made inquiry a craving.

[April 30.] We are much alarmed in Paris by a frightful rumour of plague in the hospitals. This is also attributed to the exile of parliament, and the cessation of the criminal courts; for the prisons being overcrowded the prisoners fall ill and are taken to the Hôtel Dieu, which is full of scurvy, boils, carbuncles, all of which breed the plague. They are preparing the Hôtel Louis for those who are plague-stricken, which greatly alarms the Parisians.

A man just arrived from Soissons tells me that the ennui felt there is terrible, and that all the presidents and counsellors of the Grand Chamber are provoked with the chief-president because he refuses to write the king the letter demanding their return. But the objection to doing so is: "What guarantee have you that the suggestion to write this letter is not a trap set for the honour of parliament? Because if you once enter that path you cannot step back;

the Court will less than ever allow you to deal with the externals of the sacraments; and the thing will all have to be done over again until the Court is brought to regulate, in good faith and by deeds, what constitutes the fundamental question between the priesthood and the magistracy."

Nothing is talked of but the epidemic diseases in Paris. There are wards in the Hôtel Dieu which no one is allowed to enter. The scurvy that reigns there resembles the plague. It comes from the miserable prisoners crowded together in the dungeons of the conciergerie at the Châtelet. If this should turn into the real plague nothing could be more fatal and crushing to France. Meantime, while expecting this terrible scourge, lung diseases of various kinds are killing a vast number of people. Priests, grave-diggers, and notaries cannot suffice for the need. There was one night lately when three hundred patients died in the Hôtel Dieu. In the single regiment of the Gardes six hundred men have died this winter.

[May 4.] There is talk of *lettres de cachet* being sent to each and all of the members of the Grand Chamber exiled at Soissons, in which they are ordered to go at once to their estates, or to those of their friends if they have none of their own. By this means, they say, here is parliament "extinguished and its ashes flung to the winds." Thus the counsel of Jesuits advances step by step, and traitorously, to destroy what it fears. Just now they want minds to rest awhile; then they will strike some new blow, such for instance as an edict for the suppression of parliament. They will create a new one, into which a few base souls of the old parliament will ask to enter, then many others will follow, after which, say they, benefits will be showered on the people. This is the Jesuit way of governing; this is

how those fathers governed Paraguay, seeming to be apostles, and being masters.

[May 9.] We are told that everything is preparing in France for a great reform in religion, which will be quite another thing than that vulgar reform, a mixture of superstition and liberty, which happened to us in Germany in the sixteenth century. Both have come about through the excessive tyranny and greed of priests, but as our nation and our epoch is far otherwise enlightened than that of Luther, this reformation will go where it ought to go; priests, priesthood, revelation, and mysteries will be banished, and we shall see only God, revealed by his great and good works, who has written in our hearts his law, his love; we shall feel only gratitude, hope in his providence, and fear of his justice. We know as much as the priests do of the attributes of God; we can adore him by ourselves without the help of these professional bigots, who call themselves the ministers of the altar and are only the hornets of the hive. I notice in the Academy of Belles-Lettres (of which I am a member) that a decided fermentation against the priesthood is beginning.

With reform in religion will come reform in the government. Secular tyranny is wedded with ecclesiastical tyranny; whereas, on the contrary, the philosophies of both turn, one to a regulated democracy, the other to adoring God in spirit and religiously. If men would cease to overlay these two principles we should see means and morals such as they ought to be; nature inspires us with that which is suitable for us; we listen to it and follow it when tyrannical oppression ceases.

[May 13.] Interest on money is lowering everywhere, as much for life annuities as for the Funds; but as this comes of distrust in all proposed investments it cannot be

said to be a good, or that it facilitates commerce. Distrust is increasing daily; no judges before whom to claim the property and wages of bad debtors; no order or management in the property of borrowers, neither in that of private individuals nor in that of the king. It is true that the king's payments are punctual; but, they say, how long will that last? the king is a spendthrift and in no way economical; he drains the land, he borrows all the money of his people. Consequently we must conclude that this cheapness of money is an evil, not a good.

[May 15.] It is certain that the king has bought the beautiful Palais Bourbon (built by Mme. la Duchesse) for the ministry of finance, at a cost of 900,000 *livres* charged to the account of the farmers-general. With one wing to finish, the writs, and the dues on inheritance, the total will amount to thirteen or fourteen hundred thousand *livres*. The farmers-general are forced to this, rather than invited, considering that they make such gains. But, it is said, why not remit to the people that amount in taxes, since they can find means to make such gifts? The office of controller-general is already well-paid, why add so magnificent a residence; why this vain luxury in government places in times so wretched? Every minister, they say, will now ask as much for his office; and for every sum they draw from the king they increase their demands and collections from the poor people. These rich fellows complain of the rarity of investments; distrust has made the money they wish to invest cheap, so that now they can only get four per cent whether on notes and bonds or *contrats de constitution*.

[May 21.] The little Morfi has given birth to a son; Mme. de Pompadour made an offer to the king to bring him up and inspire him with suitable sentiments worthy of his

august birth, after the manner of the illustrious Mme. de Maintenon.

[May 23.] It is certain that they are truly seeking a way to reconcile matters with parliament. The ministers are now saying that the clergy have deceived and are deceiving them. In fact, schism increases the more they yield to the clergy. To-day the priests are refusing Church burial and the Eucharist on the mere suspicion of Jansenism. This act of schism has taken place not only in Provence, but lately at Troyes, where the bailiwick took prompt measures with success, for in twelve hours the furniture of the refusing priest was attached and sold. No further decrees of the Council quashing such measures are yet given, though the agents of the clergy never cease demanding them.

The contagion and spread of epidemic diseases in the hospitals of Paris redoubles; no one is allowed to enter them; it is said there are eleven hundred patients in the Hôtel Louis outside the walls of Paris. Complaints are made that they carry these patients in broad day along the rue Saint-Denis and the rue Saint-Martin, which alarms the bourgeois, and they complain with loud murmurs of the risks they are made to run of contracting these contagious diseases.

[June 1.] The farmers-general having represented to M. de Machault, contrroller-general, that our commerce and even our manufactures are declining, and that foreigners are manufacturing our raw material, he answered: "So much the better; that means more workmen returned to agriculture." I doubt if he understood himself the great meaning of his answer; it is the correction of M. Colbert. The latter, great in executive ability, injurious to the kingdom by his views, began to draw the country into the towns,

and to make men quit the land for the arts of luxury and ease. He, being the prime-minister of finance, very powerful and also a great courtier, brought everything to bear on the brilliancy of the Court, everything to the glory of the master, and the injury of the subjects. I wish to think that he deceived himself without malice; that he urged too eagerly that which ought only to have been suggested.

[June 7.] Here is a great event! The king wrote on the 3d to M. de Maupeou, chief-president of parliament, with his own hand, and sent the letter by a courier, ordering him to be at Versailles on Monday evening at eight o'clock. Before starting, the president assembled parliament, communicated his orders, and said that if it was a question of resuming their functions he should demand that it be in Paris, and not at Pontoise, where they were cramped. The magistrate arrived at eight o'clock at the door of the king's room, entered, and was one hour and a quarter alone with his Majesty. Nothing more is known. The courtiers noticed only that he entered sad and came out sad. He saw no one and did not pass through Paris, being ordered not to do so. But it is certain that they must know to-day in Paris what passed, because he surely communicated it to parliament at Soissons Wednesday morning. The appearances are that parliament is about to return; the monarch has stooped to make advances out of generosity; he wrote with his own hand, he saw the leader of the assembly without previous entreaty on the part of said assembly. Are these advances destined to fail? No, no one can believe that; and if not, then all is ready to bring down the priests. God grant it! Our king will be crowned with benedictions.

[June 8.] We are still ignorant of the results of the apparition of the chief-president at Versailles; nothing has transpired. The people are confident in a general rumour

that the Jesuits are to be driven from the kingdom; and this is already a subject of joy and gladness.

[June 11.] The news from Soissons is that the king in his tête à tête conversation with the chief-president told him to state what the parliament had suffered, and what was the injury to his subjects by the cessation of the administration of justice. The magistrate stated it laconically; the king seemed touched; the chief-president asked him three times what orders he had to give to the Grand Chamber; the third time the king answered that he wished to finish this affair himself, and that the Chamber must be assured of his good-will.

On these words they wait with impatience, but nothing has come as yet; the king returned from Crécy only last night. But in truth he might have given up that amusement to attend to a matter so vital for the kingdom. A little more delay will spoil all, for they fear the *inimicus homo*, evil counsels, and the adverse party. Still, they write me that joy is born again in Paris, and that the public promenades and other places echo with praises of his Majesty.

[June 15.] They say now that parliament will not return for another month; the settlement drags on; and this delay is attributed to the wiles of my brother. But his favour is threatened. He did not know of the arrival of the chief-president at Versailles; when told of it he was with Mme. d'Estrades, and he trembled. To Mme. de Pompadour is ascribed this determined will of the king to make peace with parliament, but its execution in spite of the ministers is difficult. No one yet knows whether M. de Machault is for or against; whether he has or has not an understanding with my brother, who is the leader of the Molinist party. The Jesuits seem alarmed; they say that a coun-

seller of parliament is now at Versailles to confer on the reconciliation.

[June 16.] The rumour in Paris is that the *lettres de cachet* have already gone, and that parliament will resume its sessions. People are charmed with the king's kindness and very angry with his ministers and the Jesuits at the harm they have done in his name. Our king is lucky in being the well-beloved; otherwise he would have been the well-dethroned. They say now that all the settlement needed is to forget the past on both sides when the king issues the injunction to parliament to resume its functions.

Certainly if the affair ends thus it will bring many praises to Louis the Well-beloved; but it will have some consequences to certain of the ministers; we must foresee discredit and dismissal for some of them. This work is attributed to Mme. de Pompadour. Nevertheless I have certain letters from Court which still maintain that nothing has been done; and we really know nothing more to-day.

[June 19.] Mademoiselle Alexandrine, Mme. de Pompadour's only daughter, died yesterday of small-pox at the convent of the Assumption. The Duc de Chaulnes was to marry his son to her, and would thus have brought thirty millions at least into his family. Here are many edifices cast down; thus is human prudence confounded.

The recall of parliament still lingers; and it is now said it cannot be for a month. We suspect some action of the *inimicus homo*; ¹ the priests are moving all the powers of hell to prevent the re-establishment of order, justice, and humanity. No doubt they throw themselves at the feet of the king assuring him that religion is in peril, etc.; but he must soon recognize that none but an honest prime-minister

¹ We persist in thinking that by these words d'Argenson means his brother. — FR. ED.

is fit to deal with this matter, without whom all these bad ministers will forever thwart his intentions and ruin the affairs of the State.

[June 20.] The news from Court is that there is almost no question now of the re-establishment of parliament, and that the king is being twirled about like a weathercock. They give the following details: The Archbishop of Paris started in haste for Crécy, whither the king had gone with the marquise, leaving orders with M. de Saint-Florentin to send the *lettres de cachet* for the recall of parliament; the archbishop went in disguise to Crécy in a post-chaise closed so that no one should recognize him; he spoke to the king with great pathos and threatened him with ecclesiastical thunderbolts, in consequence of which a counter-order reached M. de Saint-Florentin, directing him not to send the *lettres de cachet*.

It was then that the death of Mlle. Alexandrine occurred. She was in chapel at the convent of the Assumption when a chill seized her with convulsions, and she was dead in four hours, without the doctors being able to understand her illness, except that she had spasms of choking. Mme. de Pompadour on hearing the news was overcome; they had to bleed her in the foot, and it is not yet known what will happen to her. There are not wanting those who say that her daughter was poisoned, and they charge it to the Jesuits. The priests wished, they say, to show the king that the finger of God strikes those who oppose the bull Unigenitus, and thus frighten him. The dauphin is believed to have had part in the counter-order, for without the use of his authority the archbishop would never have dared to go to Crécy without the king's permission, as he did. They say that the dauphin's opposition to the will of the king in the matter of religion is the beginning of a great evil for the

State; that he is surrounded by the Abbé de Saint-Cyr and other fanatical minions, who throw him on the side of the utmost bigotry; they say, too, that the king has humanity, but that he is very weak, and being surrounded by bigots is seduced. In this affair it is not the king but royalty that is blamed, and a revolution is more to be feared than ever. The opinion is openly expressed that if it begins in Paris it will be by the tearing in pieces of certain priests in the streets, first the Archbishop of Paris, and then the rest — the people regarding them as the real authors of all our woes.

The confessors say that poisons are again coming into fashion, and even more than ever.

[June 21.] Mlle. Alexandrine has been opened; the doctors and surgeons declare that they did not find enough cause to kill a chicken; nothing but a few drops of extravasated blood in the lower intestines. She had felt nausea the night before her death and pain in the stomach, and during her convulsions she complained of oppression in the stomach. She was taking asses' milk and they pretend that this milk could not pass her. In short, they understand nothing about it; there is still talk of poison, but no proof.

Cardinal de La Rochefoucauld has been summoned by the king and has arrived at Versailles. They intend to bring together this mild and gentle prelate and M. de Maupeou, chief-president, whose friend he is; but they do not consider two things: one, that his quality of priest will not allow him to agree to any relaxation of the ecclesiastical power over parliament; the other, that the parliament of Paris having done its duty, even with circumspection, in what caused its dismissal, cannot relax in the slightest degree the principles of the kingdom without dishonouring itself.

Thus, the king, after having thought rightly, and begun to act well, has fallen back into the seductions of the priests, who are making common cause with the ministers and the courtiers; the Maréchal de Noailles has lately thrown himself among the bullists; thus everything combines to seduce, deceive, and cause the king to act badly. The people do him justice, but think him feeble; on the other hand, parliament feels itself stronger than ever, inasmuch as the king has made the first advances himself, and was willing to receive it back without conditions.

The marquise is at Bellevue and the king at Versailles; but he goes every day to console his beautiful sick friend and comfort her after his fashion. But what do they say to each other when alone about these two subjects: the parliament, and the death of Mlle. Alexandrine?

Things are becoming greatly changed. No longer are parties denominated Jansenist and Molinist; for those two names substitute "nationals" and "sacerdotalists;" Frenchmen, or partisans of the Inquisition, of authority perverted by intrigue — that is the summing up of it. National opinions are now prevailing and may lead far. It is observable that never have the words *Nation* and *State* been as much used as they are to-day; those two names were never uttered under Louis XIV.; no one had even an idea of them. The people have never been so instructed in the rights of the nation and in liberty as they are to-day. I myself, who have always meditated and weighed materials in my study of these matters, I had my convictions and my conscience quite otherwise turned than as they are to-day: this comes of parliament and England.

I have just seen a man from Court who dissimulated to me as much as he could about the affairs of parliament; I could only get from him that the bishops have inspired the

king with great displeasure at President de Maupeou because he told the assembly it was about to return to Paris, a presumption which shocked the king, who always takes mystery for secrecy.

[June 25.] Every one in Paris is divided on the question of forthcoming events namely, Will parliament return? or will it not return, and will the priests triumph?

The misfortune of my life to-day is that my brother is alone charged with the iniquity of the continuation of this exile of parliament. Mme. de Pompadour said openly: "The king had determined on the return of parliament, but he saw that knave" (meaning my brother), "and in half an hour all was changed."

Mme. de Pompadour has been very ill of her grief at the loss of her daughter, and her life, they say, is not yet safe. The king goes out to see her daily.

[July 13.] There is not another word said about the return of the parliament to Paris; the exiles are preparing to pass the winter in their place of banishment. There is even talk of a totally different turn of affairs. The clergy have secretly promised forty millions for the coming assembly in May next; that is, ten millions gratuitously given, and thirty millions in lieu of the *vingtième*. For this they are obtaining their present triumph over the parliament, and will continue to win by proposing impracticable conditions; thus this triumph will go on until the payment of their gratuitous gift, that is to say, till July next, 1755. After which the government will laugh at them and bring the parliament back to Paris. It is said that the Keeper of the Seals, Machault, advised the king to summon President Maupeou to Versailles in order to frighten the clergy into completing this pecuniary negotiation. What a game of hocus-pocus for a government like ours!

[July 21.] The "Gazette de France" speaks, not without some affectation, of an audience given by the king at Compiègne on the 14th to President Maupeou. They want to charm away the anxieties of the public; but this affectation of mystery gives one distrust of the future, for nothing is needed but to do the right thing without talking of it.

[July 28.] No one knows to what to attribute the delay of the return of parliament so often promised. They say that all the documents are prepared, but they still lie on the desk of the secretary of State. A committee was held at the chancellor's on this matter, but my brother had fever and could not go to it. It is said by some, however, that the return of parliament is certain when the king returns to Versailles from Compiègne, which will be on the 5th of August. But they also say that the declaration permitting that return will be of a nature to shock parliament and may cause a fresh dismissal if the members resent it. The late visit of the dauphin to Compiègne was to put a spoke in the wheel; and in consequence the *lettres de cachet* for the return have lain on the desk of the Comte de Saint-Florentin ever since.

[August 6.] To-day the king returns from Compiègne to Versailles.

I am told that a convocation has been held in Rome touching the affairs of the bull Unigenitus, several of our bishops having addressed the pope to obtain it. It would be a good work under a good pope, who would soften the rigour of that piece of folly; but the king ought never to have allowed a request to be made to Rome for that, nor for any other thing relating to the government of his kingdom.

[August 7.] There have been more refusals of the sacraments in Paris. The Duc de La Rochefoucauld is a friend of the Archbishop of Paris, and he has lately talked

to him in a way to make him face the evil and the dangers of the evil he is causing; but the prelate answered in terms that made his conscience the pretext for his invincible obstinacy.

[August 16.] The translation of Locke's *Treatise on civil government* has just been reprinted, and it is seen from the preface that this has been done by the Jansenist party. This book was composed by the great English philosopher shortly after the revolution of 1688, when the nation rid itself of a king who governed against the laws. Filmer had written on the side of the kings, holding them accountable to God only, however irregular and overbearing they might be. Sidney wrote, on the contrary, in detestation of kings. Locke takes the middle course, but decides that kings may be dispossessed if they become tyrants.

We must say here that the reproduction of this book to-day by Jansenists is a galling step which is certain to irritate royalty, showing how heads are becoming heated, and how maladroit is a ministry which drives its subjects to bring such questions forward.

His Majesty is to sleep only nine nights at Versailles after his return from Compiègne until his departure for Fontainebleau — excursions, little trips, shooting, coursing with hounds continually; during which time affairs will go as they can.

[August 22.] A man of the people in Paris has declared his desire to assassinate President Maupeou, saying that there was no other means of protecting the affairs of the Church; for any other president than he would yield to the orders of the Court. The man boasted of this when drunk in a tavern, where the landlord overheard him; they questioned him without his knowing he was arrested, and he said the same thing. He even declared that his confessor had so advised him, and

the latter is a priest attached to the parish church ; he has been arrested and is now being examined :

So here is sanguinary fanaticism taking possession of spirits through religion ; especially on the side of the priests and the ultramontanes ; as it did in those periods which were so cruel under the League, and during the troubles with other sectarians led by their priests.

A great rumour (which I do not believe) is going about respecting the seduction of the chief-president Maupeou ; it is said that the *cordons bleus* of the late M. de Saint-Contest is being kept for him to tempt him, also certain sums of money to pay his debts. *Oh ! vance blanditiæ !*

[August 24.] The dauphine gave birth yesterday at seven o'clock in the morning to a prince [Louis XVI.] ; here's a brave German woman who gives us many heirs to the throne.

[August 28.] A man well informed on the affairs of the Court and those of the parliament assures me that none of the ministers knows what will take place at Soissons next Monday at the session of parliament, but that the chief-president knows, and has declared to the members that something will happen, without saying what it is, which leads to the supposition that all is going well. If so, then the ministers will have to swallow a great mortification. Many persons think that the chancellor will not stay in office. The chief-president appeared, Wednesday, 21st, in the gallery at Versailles, making the effect, they say, of Apollo on Mount Parnassus ; every one drew aside to let him pass. His rôle is admired as that of a great magistrate.

The rumour in Paris is that the Archbishop of Paris is about to resign his office and go to Rome, where the pope will make him a cardinal.

The birth of the Duc de Berry, Louis-Auguste de France, has caused little joy and almost no sensation in Paris. Every

one complains and groans; provisions are dearer than ever, and so are all the other expenses of living. The public rejoicings at the birth of the prince were appointed to take place yesterday and not to-morrow, Sunday, for fear they should be attributed to the return of parliament, about which the Court is on the *qui-vive*. It is thought that the interview of the king with the president will prevent all further representations, which parliament asked permission to make. The president looks radiant and his assembly hopes much.

[September 1.] President Maupeou has arrived at his apartments in the Palais and the whole interior of the building was illuminated. The clergy are drawing in their horns; the Jesuits declare everywhere that they feel the greatest joy at the return of parliament.

I have just seen the letters patent of the king of August 30, suppressing the Royal Chamber, with many compliments and favours bestowed upon its officers. The "Gazette de France," under date of August 31, declares that parliament would resume its functions in Paris the next day, September 1; but in this it was mistaken, because to-day is Sunday and the first assembly cannot take place until to-morrow, Monday.

[September 9.] At last I have news of what took place in parliament after its return to Paris. The king sent it a declaration, the preamble of which insulted the assembly, describing it as guilty and disobedient, and granting it pardon. But the provisions of the act are all that parliament desired. The king wants peace, and prescribes silence on the bull *Unigenitus*; he commits to parliament the repression "in all cases" of the violators of this silence; as for all proceedings hitherto undertaken on the schism, the king quashes them, but wills that contumacy be purged as to definitive judgments.

Great debates followed upon this in two sessions of the Chamber; many mutinous and haughty things were said, and finally it was voted to make remonstrance to the king on the offensive preamble, but to enregister the declaration, with reserve of the right to concern itself with the externals of the sacrament; it is thought that parliament will make a new regulation as to that.

The public, which awaited results in the halls of the Palais, no longer regards the president with a friendly eye, and even threatened to kill him. This declaration is one of the things that wounds by the manner of its doing, but which, when done, is found to be well done. What there is of harm can easily be healed by a few compliments at Court, while triumph and honour are secured to parliament, which remains more master than ever of proceeding rigorously against the bull and its zealots; the clergy is humiliated for having tried to climb too high and rule the kingdom; and the bull Unigenitus is humbled and reduced to nothingness in France.

The Archbishop of Paris, however, pursues his purpose with arrogance, folly, and insolence. He has, they say, written to all his rectors ordering them to be more severe than ever in exacting "notes of confession," and in not giving the sacraments to those whose faith is thus "unpurified." The rumour is that parliament, having captured some of these circular letters, will summon the archbishop to appear before its tribunals and will make a great case of such proceedings. The king has assembled in his cabinet a number of prelates, among them the Archbishop of Paris, who brought forward as usual his great war-horse, Conscience; on which the king replied that that conscience must not disturb his kingdom any longer, and that parliament would have to regulate it.

All this does great honour to the king, as his personal good work : the ministers let him arrange it, so that all the evil seems to come from them, and all the good of the reparation from the personal will and action of his Majesty.

My brother, who has very great ability in court ways, has turned the matter in a way to exonerate himself and at the same time to make himself dearer than ever to the king. He has used the Prince de Conti as a puppet; making him say what he wishes to soothe the monarch; he himself pretends that he only gave in to the excesses of the Molinists and the anti-parliamentary party to avenge the despised authority of the king; and if he has committed any fault, if his advice has had ill-success, he says, he acknowledges those errors, and submits them to the will and honour of the king, acting himself, in good faith, to re-establish peace.

[September 19.] I have had long conversations at Argenson with the Archbishop of Tours and his principal grand vicar the Sieur Rigaud. The prelate is a very good and simple Christian; he has promised to do all he can to promote peace where it is not against his duty and conscience. Thus the question reduces itself to what they exact of him. But I see they are both disposed to give peace to the throne, inasmuch as the king himself has been obliged to defer to parliament.

I found much misery in the province of Touraine, and discussed it with the archbishop, his grand vicars, and the intendant of the province; I found that the priests argued correctly on civil affairs, and the magistrate as correctly on ecclesiastical affairs as he did incorrectly on political ones. So goes the world; every one knows the business of his neighbour better than that of his own office.

[October 24.] It is said that the Demoiselle Morfi, mistress of the king for the last three years, is dead; they

say she died two months ago, but I doubt it, in view of the great feeling shown heretofore by the king under similar circumstances. Apparently, he had wearied of her, for he had sent her to a distance from Court. As he adores secrecy he is served to his fancy; a king always gets what he wants, if he has it at heart; therefore, no facts are known, neither the details nor, with any certainty, the general news of his harem. The apartments of the *Sieur Lebel*, his head *valet de chambre*, are more than ever the receptacle of these mysteries; there they sacrifice to love and secrecy, and divers Parisian beauties flock there.

But, in the midst of all that, what weariness assails our monarch! Nothing amuses him; all resources are exhausted. *Mme. de Pompadour* alone can make him accessible to a few ideas of pleasure; she governs them with art, making them relay one another in turn. She recently took in a great piece of land on the *Champs-Élysées*, intending to make a nursery-garden of it. It was already planted, and the walls were up six feet when she was told that the people of Paris murmured about it, saying that it cut short one of their promenades; on which she immediately destroyed her garden, and put the land as it was before. Her flatterers boast of this action, but persons of sense attribute it to a wise fear of public displeasure.

Lord Powerscourt,¹ an Englishman, has won his bet by twenty minutes; that is to say, he did the distance from *Fontainebleau* to Paris in one hour and forty minutes, a thing we cannot comprehend in France. From Paris he returned to *Fontainebleau*, with the same horses posted in relays. The bet had been for one hundred and twenty minutes on both ways.

¹ *D'Argenson* spells the name *Proscop*. *Fontainebleau* is thirty-six miles from Paris; a trifle less than a mile in three minutes, the riding-horses being posted in relays. — TR.

Grand quarrel between the Duchesse d'Orléans and the Duchesse de Luxembourg about a box at the theatre; they said horrible things to each other, like fish-wives.

There is talk of sending back to Italy our troop of Italian comedians; the Opéra-Comique will take its place during the fairs of Saint-Germain and Saint-Laurent; with all the more reason because the Italians seldom, if ever, play Italian pieces now. So here are Italian arts of all kinds proscribed, in France, — music, prose, poetry, drama, and even painting. Plots and cabals have done this; ten years ago the French and Italian comedians drove out the Opéra Comique; now the Opéra-Comique drives out the Italians, but takes their ballets. Thus go all things governed by Court and fashion.

[November 10.] The Maréchal de Richelieu is trying to obtain from the king permission for Voltaire to return to Paris; promising that he would be wise in future. He thought it was safe to take him with him to the States-general of Languedoc, but since then there seems some danger that he may cut capers there; so all that the maréchal obtained was permission to have an interview with him at Dijon on his way to Montpellier, where his fate is to be settled.

[November 13.] President Maupeou has had a conference with the king lasting seven quarters of an hour.

They write me that the Bishop of Soissons (Fitz James) is for the second time excluded from the cardinal's hat on account of the king's lasting rancour at the conscientious counsel the bishop gave him at Metz in 1744 touching his amour with Mme. de Châteauroux. The Pretender made a farther attempt to obtain the nomination for this relative of his, but his Majesty refused it angrily.

[December 1.] Mme. de Pompadour holds precisely the position of the late Cardinal de Fleury, through whose hands his Majesty desired that everything should pass. Nothing is

decided without her. She is, more than ever, openly against my brother; yet the favour of the latter has increased since the reconciliation with parliament, in which they say he served as secret counsellor to his Majesty. But he keeps himself to rule, and does nothing ostensibly against the favourite. Still, things are brought into great disorder by the daily indiscreet gift of reversionary benefits; there are now eleven such promises for commissions of colonels in the Grenadiers.

M. Pâris-Duverney has another attack of gout which has gone to his throat; if he dies, adieu to the *École Militaire*.

[December 1.] New difficulties between the Archbishop of Paris and parliament. Refusal of sacraments in the parish of Saint-Étienne to Mlle. Lallemant, formerly a convulsionary. All the priests of this parish have refused to obey the parliament and the declaration of September 2. A deputation from parliament was sent to the archbishop, who refused to reply, saying that he rendered account to none but God, and declaring that the priest of that parish acted under his orders. Thus, his conduct is the same as it was two years ago, when parliament wanted to convoke the peers and have him tried as schismatic and disobedient to the laws and to the orders of the king.

Parliament on this sent a deputation to the king. Yesterday, Sunday, the king listened to the chief-president in private, and also to the archbishop; they say that the latter left the audience apparently in a state of consternation. The king replied to parliament that he was well-satisfied with its conduct; that he should examine the affair by the documents and to-morrow, Tuesday, at five o'clock, he would give his orders.

[December 3.] One sees with astonishment that every year the rents in Paris are higher, in spite of the reduction

in the value of property and in the profits of individuals; at first this appeared in the fine quarters, the faubourgs Saint-Germain, Richelieu, and Saint-Honoré. Fashion and style prevail so much that houses in those quarters are becoming exorbitant in price and more and more so; but the Marais and the quarter of the University are now going much higher than the ordinary cost. People seek the reason; here is a suggestion: fashion and its empire prevail over everything else among Frenchmen; fashion puts virtue and credit in style, and vice and contempt in all that is in the least ridiculous. Thus, it is ridiculous not to live in Paris, not to live in fine quarters; and this is what sets in motion all the efforts of the nobles.

Fashion wills that fortune be sought, not by merit, nor for happiness; it is found only in Court intrigues and in the capital; the whole nation is coming to think this more and more; whether they be provincials or inhabitants, Paris is their one aim.

Fashion wills also that to-day courtesans shall be paid higher, that they shall make an appearance, be loaded with diamonds, have fine carriages, and respectable houses well-furnished.

Fashion wills that there be many divorces; thus houses for husbands, houses for wives, houses for children are needed; whereas in the old time entire families lived in the same house, and the members were satisfied with a small chamber and cabinet. Fashion now wills that apartments be spacious, that there be fires in every room, and that the servants have fires all winter.

Fashion wills to-day that financiers make as great an appearance as men in office.

[December 5.] Here are great events and great changes. The king replied yesterday to the deputation of parliament

that he had punished the Archbishop of Paris, having exiled him to his estate at Conflans for disobeying his declaration of September last ; that he chose to be obeyed, and that peace ought now to reign in his kingdom ; therefore his Majesty relied on parliament not to proceed further against the prelate ; it could, however, proceed against the clergy of Saint-Étienne, but with the circumspection required in spiritual matters, and he counted on its zeal in concurring with him to bring about a reign of peace.

I am assured that the order to the archbishop is that he shall not see any of his priests at Conflans.

Parliament at once gave orders that the sacraments be given to Mlle. Lallemand, and that means be provided for the service of that parish. From this there is great joy among the people of Paris, but great tribulation among those villanous, brawling priests. So here is the parliament, lately proscribed and exiled for doing these very things, charged by the king in all confidence to pacify the kingdom harassed by the ecclesiastics. Nothing is now wanting but to be rid of the old Bishop of Mirepoix.

[December 7.] In the king's stables there is a hunting mare named "La Marquise," which the king rode for a long time, and now never mounts. Last week M. d'Ecquevilly, returning from a hunt and finding no place in the king's carriages, mounted a horse and rode home. The king asked him how he came back. "On that old Marquise your Majesty no longer rides," he said ; at which there has been a great laugh, allusion being to the favourite who is now only a friend, but one to whom the king persists in giving more influence than ever. The last committee for settling the king's answer to parliament was held in her cabinet. She has more influence than ever ; and carries the day as she pleases over the ministers ; she has openly quarrelled

with my brother and the rest of my family ; nevertheless, my brother carries to her the portfolio of the École Militaire.

I am assured that the king has a fund of esteem and friendship for me, and that he destines me for the first vacant place of Councillor of State with the sword ; but I am advised not to advance any other claim if I reach that dignity. The king has spoken of this twice to my brother.

My brother continues to study the king with great success ; he follows all his weaknesses and his momentary fancies ; yet he is often embarrassed by being forced to take steps which contradict one another. To-day it is the church people whom it is necessary to appease and satisfy. Yesterday the *Sieur de Lostanges*, nephew of the Archbishop of Paris, came to see my brother during the night, to find means of making the king relent. His Majesty shows some embarrassment ; this *coup d'État* of having punished the Archbishop of Paris has made all those who affect devotion tremble. The queen, the dauphin, and the royal family are in great trouble over it.

They say that at the committee held in *Mme. de Pompadour's* room on the king's answer, two of the ministers wanted to change the words "punished the archbishop," but the king, who was walking up and down the room, said, "*Quod scripsi, scripsi.*"

They talk of making the Sorbonne condemn a book of which I am part author. The title is : "History of French ecclesiastical Law." *Père de La Mothe*, Jesuit, who used to be my prefect, and is now a refugee in Holland, wrote two-thirds of it.

The queen weeps continually at the exile of the archbishop ; the dauphin is no less afflicted. The *Abbé de Saint-Cyr*, the dauphin's sub-preceptor, is to blame for

this; he instilled into the royal family their bigoted and ultramontane fanaticism.

The chief-president, M. Maupeou, is possessed by a great hatred to my brother, and endeavours to thwart him in every way. This magistrate has very rancorous passions, and is, moreover, a man of unbridled ambition; but with all that very wise, and understanding well both the world and the Court. The officers of the parliament have their noses in the air and pretend henceforth to great things by plunging into the government of the kingdom.

[December 16.] A copy of a letter from the Bishop of Orléans to his chapter has been obtained; it is fanatical; it exhorts the canons to refuse the sacraments to the dying. The assembly of the Chambers decided yesterday that the letter should be taken to the king by the chief-president. A letter of the Bishop of Mirepoix to the same chapter, in which he exhorted to the same fanaticism, is believed to have been seen, but a bottle of ink was tipped over it. A letter from the Bishop of Boulogne, who had been denounced to parliament, says that he is ready to lay down his life for the bull Unigenitus.

His Britannic Majesty has made a speech strongly approving the suppression of the philosophical works of Lord Bolingbroke, as being contrary to revealed religion.

[December 20.] The king has exiled the Bishop of Orléans to his country-house of Meun, as a punishment for his letter to his Chapter which the chief-president took to his Majesty. He has since told the magistrate that he had punished the bishop duly, but he recommended parliament to proceed by gentle, not rigorous, means in such matters in order to restore calmness to the kingdom. The assembly of the Chambers has since been postponed till the 30th of this month, which shows that parliament means to act

with gentleness in conformity with the intentions of the king.

The bishop of Chartres, in attempting to speak to the king about the exile of the archbishop, said that a bishop ought to reside in his diocese. "Very well, monsieur," said the king, "then go to yours;" where he was sent the next day. But the real cause of his exile was gallantry. He kept a poor and pretty widow at Chartres by whom he had a son. Certain wags at Court wrote him a letter from this lady telling him she was pregnant, to which he answered in good faith that he would settle an annuity on the child, adding several expressions of tenderness. The letter was brought to a supper in the cabinets; everybody laughed; the king asked why, and they read him the letter. The next day the bishop (Fleury) was told to retire to his diocese. On asking the queen, whose chaplain he is, for her orders for the mass of the next day, she made him no answer, on which he retired.

I am assured that the king speaks of me with kindness, and even with friendship, and that it is time for me to keep assiduously in Paris and not see the great seigneurs there, in which case I shall soon be recalled to public affairs: tranquil habits, speculations on public affairs, which accord with my own tastes and which I pursue with delight, will then have to cease.

XI.

1755.

[JANUARY 1, 1755.] There is much talk in public of a possible war with England respecting our colonies, especially in North America, as much in Acadia as in Virginia. It is proposed to send five battalions immediately to Virginia, and they are preparing a great armament at Brest and at Toulon. Five extra millions have just been sent to the two places. Still, they are trying to conjure the storm. The Duc de Mirepoix took leave of the king to-day before starting for London as ambassador.

If a maritime war results we can put many war-vessels afloat fully equipped to injure British commerce, according to the system of M. de Pontchartrain, whose method contributed much to the peace of Utrecht. I heard yesterday many arguments on this threatened war. We are arming actively and at the same time hastening to send M. de Mirepoix to London with the olive branch, or a declaration of war if peace is not quickly agreed to. We are sparing nothing, they say, to make prompt demonstrations, sudden as lightning and conducive to peace. We have at the present moment seventeen ships of war or frigates in our ocean ports; they are working at them night and day; all this with a view to North America.

[January 13.] I saw to-day in passing through Sèvres the magnificent folly of a new manufactory for French porcelain in the Dresden style. It is an immense building, nearly as large as the Invalides; built of nothing but



*Marie Joséphe de Saxe.
Dauphine*

ashlar, and already it is beginning to crumble before it is finished. The Marquise de Pompadour is interested and has even interested the king in it. The pieces are sold at an exorbitant price, and the Dresden porcelain is cheaper and better; that of China and even of Japan better still. They give ours for sale to merchants at a commission of twelve per cent; no one buys and much is spent upon it; it is all conducted at a cost exceeding the funds of the enterprise.

[January 15.] The Chambers of parliament assembled yesterday on account of a new refusal of the sacraments by the rector of Sainte-Marguerite, faubourg Sainte-Antoine. Lord Drummond [Earl of Perth] and his wife live in that parish; they are great Jansenists and already known for the affair of the convulsions at the tomb of M. Pâris. The wife, being very ill, sent to the parish church for the sacraments. The rector demanded the "note of confession;" refusal to give it: who was the confessor? refusal again; finally the rector confined himself to a single question: was the confessor a priest approved by the archbishop? refusal. The Chambers ordered an inquiry and summoned the rector. They say, however, that he is a very virtuous man; he talked with the chief-president and came out from the conversation furious.

[January 16.] Yesterday the Chambers assembled. In the morning they received the report of the refusal of the sacraments to Lady Drummond, and in the evening they held another session, at which, the rector being absent (having gone to Versailles), his arrest was decreed. They summoned the vicars, sub-vicars, and attendant priests, one after another, and ordered them to administer the sacraments to the said lady: finally one of them, as I learn, did administer them, which ended the affair, like that of Saint-Étienne, and the Archbishop of Paris must make what he can of it.

[January 19.] They are preparing the naval war forces at Brest with great diligence and expenditure; the controller-general complains of the money it costs. They say our navy is in a very bad state; always an "affair for show only;" seventy vessels constructed since the peace are rotting in port: no rigging, no guns, no munitions, and no possibility of arming them.

They have just given orders to the Company of the Indies to deliver over to the navy all the iron and bronze guns which it has on its own vessels, ours being almost without any. We are working day and night to provide for our defence in America. All our land warriors are offering themselves eagerly for service on those distant shores; this may alarm our rabid enemies.

There is talk of an excellent answer made by the king to M. de Séchelles last Sunday. That minister having brought his portfolio to work with his Majesty, the king, who was tired of work, rose to go; M. de Séchelles remained seated and said to his Majesty: "Sire, I ask you for ten minutes more to give bread to five hundred families of your subjects." The king sat down, saying, "Two hours, if necessary."

The king has decided on the construction of several buildings in Paris. Two hundred thousand *livres* are deposited in the royal treasury for work on the Old Louvre, and they say that four hundred thousand more will be there for next winter. They are now working on the fine colonnade of Perrault on the riverside; the Grand Council is to lodge there; for which purpose they have turned out the king's sculptors, and are to build them small and equal lodgings in the Chaussée d'Antin.

Workmen are beginning to dig out the moat to surround the new public square of the Pont-Tournant [Place Louis XV.]. But stone is lacking for all these public works, and

they are seeking for new quarries around Paris, especially of hard stone. But how can such works proceed in the present distress for money? The treasury is facing bankruptcy. Our artful and stock-jobbing financiers are leading us thither with more subtle artifice than ever; there is no longer any credit to be had from private individuals; all is now concentrated on the king's credit and that of the so-called rich financiers.

[January 24.] M. Robinson [Baron Grantham] has arrived here on a mission from England; and people say that all is settled and agreed upon; and that our colonies in three quarters of the world will remain, as regards England, *in statu quo*. Nevertheless my son told me yesterday that the war department continues to work vigorously for the embarkation of troops to North America. But the king said at Court with his own lips that all was settled with the English, and that our colonies would remain as they are.

[January 31.] The affair of the church is getting more and more irritated by the stupid obstinacy of the Archbishop of Paris. Parliament sent its secretary to him at Conflans to ask when he would be pleased to end this trouble, namely, the singular method of administrating the parishes of Saint-Étienne and Saint-Marguerite by the virtual closing of both churches. The archbishop replied that he was accountable to none but God for his administration, and that the parliament was absolutely incompetent to interfere in the matter of the sacraments, as it was doing. In a word, the prelate showed positively in this reply his disobedience to the king and to his decree of September 2; he thus denies the competency of the king, which is much worse than disobeying his orders. The parliament, on the contrary, shows great wisdom in temporizing, in abstaining from any steps, and in communicating the archbishop's answer to the king.

[February 2.] A man just arrived from Conflans tells me that they were never so tranquil there as now; the archbishop is awaiting a blow in full confidence on his party, and with the faith and constancy of a martyr.

The King of Prussia now writes frequently to Voltaire begging him to return to Berlin. The monarch capitulates; the poet plays the cruel and the contemptuous. The latter at last exhibits his wealth; he has rented for life a beautiful house on the shores of the Lake of Geneva, where he displays much appearance and invites his friends. The magistrates of Geneva pay him attention and favour him as a man who is worth much to their city by his distinction and by the people he will attract there. They credit him with an income of one hundred thousand *livres* and plenty of ready money.

Rumour of a change of mistress at Court; the king is much in love with the Duchesse de Broglie and has written her a declaration. This is now the great subject at Court, for there can be no doubt that the first condition exacted will be the dismissal of the marquise. Certainly it would be great happiness to the nation to be rid of that favourite. At present she is all for the clergy under pretence of fearing for the king's life. A new mistress would cost something to the State, but we might hope it would gain in other ways. The king, however, is forty-five years old; is his love a passion capable of the effort it would be to him to dismiss his old friend? This is very doubtful.

[February 8.] The "Gazette of Utrecht" speaks of important matters touching the affair of Church and parliament. M. de Stainville, our ambassador in Rome, has conferred with the pope on the subject. The Holy Father has sent instructions to his nuncio in Paris; he preaches peace; he blames the firebrands; he approves of the king's declaration of September 2. But let Rome dare to speak out and so

bring peace between the two powers. What will our rascally prelates and jesuitical priests do then ?

[February 17.] I am assured that the king has given the archbishop his option of three things : (1) to resign his archbishopric ; (2) to issue a mandate to his clergy in conformity with the law of September 2 ; (3) to be abandoned to parliament, which will try him as rebellious, like the rectors and other ecclesiastics. Some say that his Majesty expressed himself with imperative brevity, saying, "Submission, abdication, or punishment."

[February 21.] The king has to-day sent a message to parliament respecting the reply made to it by the Archbishop of Paris. His Majesty declares that he has again exiled the prelate in order to remove him from the bad advice he was receiving from certain persons ; consequently, he wished parliament to take no further steps for the punishment he had deserved. Furthermore, that his Majesty willed that his declaration of September 2 and the laws of the kingdom should be executed, and that parliament should maintain their execution with as much vigilance as wisdom.

The archbishop is exiled to Champeaux, near Melun, where he is to see no one ; he has dismissed the greater part of his servants.

[March 19.] At the session of the chambers of parliament yesterday great things took place. The chief-president stated that the king had postponed until Sunday next, Palm Sunday, giving fresh orders relating to the behaviour of the archbishop of Paris. The assembly then proceeded to judge of the deliberations of the Chapter of Orléans and its schismatic refusal of the sacraments on account of the bull *Unigenitus*. The advocate of the Chapter then made his profession of faith on that bull, and gave as his principal defence that the Chapter had hitherto regarded the bull as a rule of faith, and

therefore it was the duty of the Chapter to refuse the sacraments to heretics, inasmuch as they opposed that rule of faith.

But, — oh, sorrow ! oh, disaster for the bull Unigenitus and for those who maintain it ! — behold, the king's attorney-general on this appealed from the execution of the bull, and parliament pronounced that it was not a rule of faith, forbidding all ecclesiastics "of whatever order, quality, and dignity they were" (meaning the bishops) to regard it as such, ordering them to practise the absolute silence respecting it commanded by the declaration of the 2d of September last.

So there is the bull annihilated nationally, judged and condemned to eternal silence ! Last evening two hundred persons were waiting at the printers to get copies of this decree in order to publish it about everywhere. I wish the threatened war with England could be as easily extinguished as this war with the priests now is.

[April 5.] A man of knowledge with a reputation for expedients had a long conversation yesterday with the chief-president Maupeou. From it may be gathered as follows : parliament believes it has the right to do great things, and its president is looking everywhere for ideas and materials for such enterprise. From this conversation I gather that a mutinous spirit feels its strength. In fact, parliament is very strong since its recall. No one knows any longer how to punish it, inasmuch as the king, having exhausted all the shafts of his anger in exiling it, suppressing it, and replacing it by another, and falling far short of success in doing so, had to recall it mildly and defer to its president as a sort of leader in the government.

One must always define a monarch before judging him, in a monarchy like ours. No one could be less fitted than Louis XV. for a *coup d'État* ; he dares a thing lightly and

with temerity; then he wearies of it and grows timid; never was there a man with less courage of mind than his. Hence it has happened that every minister coming into relations with him feels little by little his own strength, and has merely to dare to exercise it. It was thus that Cardinal de Fleury governed him for seventeen years; thus that Mme. de Pompadour, who has not been his mistress these three years, continues to rule him by her tone and daring.

I was told yesterday *de auditu* that the king had lately spoken of me in connection with the ministry of Foreign Affairs, and said that he knew well there was no one at Court but me who was capable of conducting that department; that I had the true spirit for it, and that since my time those affairs had been managed worse and worse; nevertheless, he could not replace me at once, because there was an obstacle which could not be told to me, but, if I lived, that office would certainly be returned to me.

[May 26.] The Sieur Jeffery, geographer to the Prince of Wales, has just published a pamphlet which has made a great noise in England. It is a violent declamation against our enterprises in America, and it sounds a veritable tocsin on the necessity of repulsing us. He declaims against our authors, and especially against the "History of America" by Père Charlevoix, Jesuit; he maintains that we have falsified everything, in order to make for ourselves titles to possession through earliest discovery. By the cession of Acadia the English claim the whole right bank of the river St. Laurence; they call our reservations and our acts insults.

All England is seduced by this pamphlet, which treats us as usurpers everywhere in North America, denies us possession of Canada, and claims that we can have only posts there, not territory. It refers to the article in the treaty of

Utrecht by which we ceded Acadia—which the English now call New Scotland [Nova Scotia]. We have ceded them the island of Saint-Christopher, and Nova Scotia according to the old boundaries, *iusdem terminis*, as also Port Royal (or Annapolis Royale) with other places in those regions dependent on the said lands and islands. In this way the English make use of all the former claims of Acadia, which they now push to the river St. Laurence, and beyond; a great dispute which will never be terminated, but may end from weariness and by the *uti possidetis*.

The Abbé de Bernis, our ambassador to Venice, has arrived here, and on his arrival he received the abbey of Saint-Arnould, worth 30,000 *livres* a year. He has made his way by ladies and *bel esprit*; a man who piques himself on laziness and the making of effeminate, easy, and tender verses like those of Ovid.

[July 19.] Yesterday a courier arrived from London with despatches to the 15th, from which it appears that a small vessel has arrived bringing news of the commencement of hostilities. There had been a combat, June 10, of three of our vessels against three of theirs; we had killed many of their men, eighty on one ship, forty on another, and thirty on the last. The battle lasted a long time, but finally two of our vessels were forced to surrender, while the third escaped, under cover of the night and a fog. Sad beginning of a war, which may spread and become general.

The plan of campaign against us in North America is publicly understood in England; we are to be attacked at five points, and they think the thing now begun, especially on the Acadian side. I am assured that the crisis is violent against us in that nation. Letters from English colonists say that every one out there breathes war against the French; they are raising troops with great success, every

peasant is becoming a soldier; none but the Quakers of Philadelphia hold back, because, in general, they abhor war. They accuse us of aggression; they say we want to invade their colonies, and that we are fortifying ourselves in them, which is not true.

It is said that the king shows openly his ill-will to Holland, and at Compiègne when speaking to the foreign ambassadors, he omitted the Dutch envoy. His Majesty declared last winter that if the English began hostilities against us we would begin by marching into Holland. Here's the horror of the advice of ministers in the style of Louvois, the folly of irritating the king against those miserable republican cattle tricked by England; whereas nothing would be easier than to rally them to ourselves.

[July 21.] On Friday, 18th, at Compiègne, several committees were held during the day, and in the evening a Grand Council. The king looked very sad at his public dinner, and the ministers had, or affected to have, an air of consternation.

I must add to my preceding news that our squadron was attacked by two large English fleets; two of our vessels were taken: the "Alcide," sixty-four guns, and the "Lys," fifty guns. Four were in the roadstead of Louisbourg; and it is not known what has become of the rest. The instant this news reached London, the English, by acclamation, declared war against us; the House of Lords did the same (having, no doubt, their conditional orders); our ambassador, the Duc de Mirepoix, is returning, and we have sent despatches by courier to de Bussey, our ambassador in Hanover, to return to Paris.

There is great embarrassment at Compiègne. These arrogant, ambitious, and usurping Englishmen declare war and attack, unjustly, what they pretend to be usurping claims. Our war is just; theirs is like that of Algiers, or

the wolf and the lamb. At a time when we were negotiating boundaries and had gone into port at Coromandel, where we were trying to pacificate everything, they attacked us ten against one. What more tyrannical and usurping scheme than that of destroying our whole navy in order, by that means, to pass on to the Spanish colonies?

A quantity of general officers have gone to Compiègne to offer their services. I hear that all English persons have orders to leave France within two weeks, which is equivalent to a declaration of war. I hear the vigour of our ministers lauded to the skies, as having taken a lofty tone in this matter: *Quod felix, faustumque sit! Sed veror imprudentiam et temeritatem sine viribus, sine constantiâ.*

[August 1.] I am told that the English people saw the departure of our ambassador with regret. That people did not receive the news of their victory of June 8 (eleven English vessels against three French ones) with great joy; they see war and all its horrors with pain.

M. de Soubise, with M. de Beaumont, intendant of Flanders, has made two journeys to Dunkerque to fortify that place. They at once sent there the sappers who are working on the new canal at Saint-Omer, with twenty other battalions to assist in the work and guard this key to France, this insulting sentry-box towards England.

My advice would be to do our worst to England and that nation only, without taking notice of her German king and his interests, or of his allies. Let us declare ourselves delivered from our obligations, such as the demolition of the defences of Dunkerque, and the non-recognition of the House of Stuart. Let us maintain Dunkerque by sea and by land; let us recognize the House of Stuart as legitimate sovereigns; let us give it in France an honourable asylum for its refugee kings; let the Pretender James III. live here like Stanislas,

give him the French Low Countries to govern, and to the Prince de Soubise another government; let us encourage our privateers, and especially those of Saint-Malo. Let us make laws against English commerce, excluding them in every way; let us win the Dutch through commerce, giving them privileges. Let us order our Asiatic colonists and those of the Windward Isles to keep close and well sheltered during this quarrel. Let them keep on the defensive; England cannot suffice for all; she will propose peace; we will then make it, keep Dunkerque, and maintain the Pretender.

Such is the system of a wise man, who has been long employed; he says that we ought to use this occasion to show ourselves just, and not form unwarrantable attacks on the continent or make unjust and quibbling reprisals. At the same time, let us maintain our defences, and all Europe will be with us.

It seems as though the king were already adopting this system. His Majesty seems gay and tranquil. Many troops and the sappers are at Dunkerque, fortifying it; there is question of encouraging our privateers, those of Saint-Malo especially. No further talk is heard of increasing the army, but they have just made a promotion of the officers of the navy. It is said that opinions are divided in the Council, and that by some absurd contradiction those ministers who would naturally be for war on land want it only by sea, and *vicissim*.

[August 7.] Our fleet, commanded by the Comte du Guay, has retired to Cadiz; where it has very much the air of remaining all winter. At the foot of the wall, the Council steps back from the decisions it made at first in our violent resentment against England. It fears great losses; such as the intercepting of our rich fleets from the Indies; it fears for our cod-fisheries; it fears for all our maritime wealth,

and it is to be observed that the Court people hold a large part of it, which makes them prefer their own interests to the general welfare. The king has sent orders to all ports to notify merchant-vessels that they must return as soon as possible, as the country is on the eve of a declaration of war.

At Marseille they complain of not being warned soon enough; for the English, hoisting a piratical flag, have captured six of our merchant vessels plying to the Levant, and it is feared that several bankers will in consequence be made bankrupt at Marseille. However, five rich vessels of our India company have just arrived in the port of Lorient. They say they expect to arrive thus successively, one after another, and if that is done, the orders have been well given.

It is certain that the king is making extraordinary retrenchments, in journeys, dinners, cooks in his country-houses, horses, etc., in all amounting to more than ten millions a year. It is also certain that all expenditure on buildings is stopped, except on the Louvre; for which two millions a year is already granted, and on the new *place* [Louis XV.], which will not cost much. M. de Séchelles having told Mme. de Pompadour of this victory over the king's easy indulgence, she said she would be of the same mind as the king in this from that very moment.

[August 9.] Last night the Comtesse d'Estrades, lady of honour to Mesdames of France and cousin of Mme. de Pompadour, was dismissed. The latter caused it, Mme. d'Estrades turned against her and gave herself to my brother. We fear some political blow of which this is the forerunner.

[August 10.] The dismissal of the Comtesse d'Estrades absorbs the Court. The secret causes of it are not known. It is true that her old quarrel with her cousin, Mme. de Pompadour, had only been plastered over, and of late she had taken to speaking ill of her continually; also she ac-

quired great influence over the royal family, especially over the dauphin, and she gave herself out as the intimate friend of the king. They say that the dauphin and Mesdames are very angry at her dismissal. My brother, on hearing of it, was taken ill. It is thought that this dismissal will lead to changes in my family. It will make a great void in the intriguing occupations of my brother. His friends assembled habitually at Mme. d'Estrades' house, especially the enemies of Mme. de Pompadour. He had debauched this cousin of the favourite.

One of Prince Edward Stuart's principal agents talked to me a long time yesterday of our great political interests with England. He said that we could never conquer the English except by making them lose their commercial credit; that it was like an affair "between grocers" (a very ignoble comparison) who cannot finish a quarrel until one destroys the credit of the other; that the English credit was not secure, and that nothing would be easier than to cause a revolution in England, and her credit would be instantly gone; that in order to do this three consecutive and urgent things must be done: (1) put King James or his son into England; (2) with eight thousand troops only; (3) and send our generals *after* them. The reverse has been done hitherto, and our great preparations revealed our designs. Nothing, he said, was really easier than secrecy, by holding the troops a few leagues from shore, near the ports, and gathering a fleet of fishing-boats without ostentation. He said that the English nation is no longer military; it is enervated by commerce, avarice, and luxury; that there are not more than eighteen thousand troops now in the three kingdoms, and only four thousand of them in London; that the Pretender, by declaring for a few months that he would not pay debts contracted by the Hanoverian king, would be

applauded by the Tories, who form the greater part of the nation, and bankruptcy would follow; that Prince Edward has openly declared himself a Protestant and an Anglican in the place where he is now in refuge; that the nation will not mind taking a king through the support of France, because they regard their kings as magistrates only; they do homage to them as such, if they respect the laws; if they disregard the laws, like James II., they drive them out.

This system is fierce and inhuman; ah! how much nobler it is to follow the right, and justice, and humanity!

[August 21.] Saturday last at a hunt on the plain of Villepreux the dauphin killed one of the king's equerries, the Marquis de Chambors; and what is worse it was not so much by accident as through childish nonsense. He said to a page that he meant to burn his moustache, and making him kneel down to fire from his shoulder, he did not see M. de Chambors, who was advancing to offer him a hand in getting over a ditch. The shot and the wad both entered the equerry's shoulder and shattered it; so that there is little hope, though he is not yet dead. The dauphin was in despair; he threw himself on his knees by the dying man and begged his forgiveness with tears; then he went to Versailles at full gallop, and they could not prevent him from giving the dauphine a shock in her present delicate condition, crying out that he had killed his best friend. He swears he will never carry a gun again. Poor Chambors has a pregnant wife; he was a very good fellow. His father would not let him enter the army, having a presentiment that he would be shot. He recollected this as they were bringing him back to Versailles, and said: "I had better have lost my life in the service of my masters than be killed by their hand." The dauphin wrote to the king an account of the disaster,

and the king replied in a very beautiful and touching letter. This childishness of the dauphin still lasts, though he is nearly twenty-seven years old; four days earlier, amusing himself by firing at partridges in a stubble-field, his gun went off by accident and several of the company had shot in their coats, and this very Chambors had his hat riddled.

[August 24.] I was at Court yesterday and found the king gayer and the dauphin in better health than I was told. I had a political conversation with King Stanislas; he thinks as I do on the true means of having peace.

The malcontents in Corsica have elected a leader named Pascal Paoli. They are turning themselves into a monarchy. Paoli will be sovereign as to civil and criminal laws, but as to the affairs of State he can do nothing without his council; thus, it will be a mixed government. His diploma is dated July 15th last.

The king has reduced the horses in his stable by fifteen hundred.

[August 28.] They write me from London that money is very scarce, but there is much impatience for the declaration of war against France. They are mistaken about that, for money would then become scarcer than ever. The artificial wealth of England consists only in a circulation of eighteen hundred thousand *livres* (of our money), which the banks owe and may have from one month to another.

The secretaries of State spread the rumour that Mme. de Pompadour has become their prime-minister, and that soon the Council will be held in her apartment. They let this be known ostentatiously, and it is all a piece of harem politics carefully planned to disgust the king with his favourite. Her friend, the Abbé de Bernis, has just returned, and they say he is to have the embassy to Spain. He has much wit and fatuity, but great indifference to matters of State, and that is

what is wanted in these days. He is a supple ingratiating man; they think him just the one to attract the confidence of the Spanish ministry, kind, simple, and little distrustful as he is.

All the ministers give in, each of them, memorials of political plans to be adopted at this conjuncture. The king communicates to them reciprocally, and they come to decisions as they can.

The king is much praised by the public for appointing Cardinal de La Rochefoucauld to the post of minister of benefices, vacant by the death of the Bishop of Mirepoix; he is a wise man, gentle, and very indifferent to the bull *Unigenitus*. The king has a conscience on such matters, and he thinks he satisfies it by giving the distribution of benefices to a worthy man like this prelate.

[September 6.] All our vessels on the high seas are compelled to stop and be visited by the English, after which they are allowed to continue their way.

The rumour is strong that the king is about to put an embargo on all the merchant ships in the ports of this kingdom, and that he has already chartered great numbers at Havre-de-Grâce and Dieppe; this threatens a descent of the Pretender.

The account of the combat at Fort Duquesne is this: it took place July 9. The English conceal their loss, but admit that it was great. Their army was of two thousand men. They think that we lost many also. They blame the Irish troops, who, they say, did not do their duty. They think they derive consolation for this check from the entire conquest of the island of Saint-John, the forts of which we have evacuated; the inhabitants welcomed them and repudiated us.

London papers say that a "suspicious person" has just landed at Harwich, and the government sent at once to

arrest him and convey him to London. Alas! can it be that poor Prince Edward?

[September 8.] Our general who fought the English so well is named Contreccœur; he is an adventurer, who proves to have great talent and who commanded at Fort Duquesne. He said to his companions, "Let us die to the last man!" He bethought him of the stratagem of ambushing in the woods; and the English did not know the art of war well enough to scout the country before passing through it.

[September 9.] The new arrangement respecting farms and subfarms is just announced!¹ The subfarms are suppressed and merged in the general farms; the number of farmers-general will henceforth be sixty instead of forty. And this increased company will give the king twenty millions more, which will bring up the general leases to two hundred and thirty-one millions. The farmers-general will be absolute masters of their post. Certainly the object is worth the effort, but knowledge of the ground and experience shake what faith one has in the future of this operation. We have seen so many projects of equal firmness fail as soon as begun, and some before they have begun to be put in execution.

As for me, I believe these sixty farmers-general will soon sub-let in their provinces as was done before. But by the new arrangement three hundred and sixty financiers are now thrown out of occupation. Desperate, they will go into their provinces, with their late gains, and raise the value of land. If that happens, the kingdom will be much better off than it has been. The great evil of the State is the

¹ It must be remembered that farms (*fermes*) under the old monarchy were certain portions of the public revenues and taxes, the levying of which was intrusted, that is, farmed out on a lease, to one, or many persons. A farmer-general (*fermier-général*) was a man to whom these rights of the king were secured under the said lease.—Tr.
Mem.

denuding of the provinces in money and men; if their return can be brought about successfully it will be a great gain; fortunes will no longer be made solely in Paris. These men, forced to leave Paris, will withdraw their funds in money. And this will give a great shake to the market and to the king's credit. Money will be scarce in Paris; the shake will alarm, but I hope it can be borne.

[September 13.] M. de Séchelles [controller-general] writes me that the suppression of the subfarms will bring in seven millions more profit to the king, besides the increased sums the farmers-general pay to him on the portions they control, such as tobacco, the increase on which will go as high as thirteen millions.

[September 15.] His Majesty has further asked each of the secretaries of State for forty thousand *livres*, and from the lesser bureaux in proportion, producing in all forty millions. Sums are also to be demanded of the receivers-general and other financiers; so that the king will have touched by the end of this year about one hundred and twenty millions.

The Court is jubilant with joy, and the controller-general radiant. On one side they call him a very able man, on the other side a tyrant. The financiers call it coarse financiering, like that of M. Chamillart under a king vowed to war, who would not retrench his luxury. In truth, the whole art of this affair consists in extorting money from those who are already involved with the king in such a way that they will lose all if they refuse. Nothing could be more cruel or more unjust. But, it is said, the storm will fall on an odious class of men. It is true that all Paris will applaud it, and the Court would do likewise if it were not itself involved in finance. It is said that half of the subfarmers are without resources, their leases being withdrawn. Many

have married daughters of patrons without dowries; they had to begin by heavy expenses, as much to satisfy their wives as to give themselves an air of credit, and thus they have nothing now to live upon.

People foresee, as I have said, that all this will give the Paris money-market a shake from which it may never recover if this operation should fail. Where will the hundred and twenty millions I have mentioned be found? Confidence is more and more shaken; no one will have to do with the great seigneurs,—they know too well how to evade payments; people are therefore compelled to trust the king and his financiers because they have their credit to preserve. But if the three hundred and sixty subfarmers of the king should be bankrupt by this affair, what becomes of that vaunted credit? These are only loans, they say, which the king exacts from those who have gained great profits from him, and his Majesty must have this money to meet the first expenses of the war without putting fresh taxes on the people, which will frighten England. But he gives very moderate interest on these loans: only four per cent to the farmers-general, and three and a half per cent to the luckless secretaries of the king—as much for a former loan already demanded of them as for the present one.

Money will soon be very scarce in consequence of the enormous sums raised on the market during the last few years, and all for the king: lottery, sinking fund, percentage on the posts, annuities, loan from Languedoc, loan from the clergy of sixteen millions, and now these hundred and twenty millions. If this last operation fails the shock will be the greater because all resources are compromised at once, all the royal sponges being squeezed dry.

[September 16.] The English resolved in council some time ago to search all French vessels they encounter and

seize munitions of war, together with the vessels themselves if sailing for America, even for our own islands. They have captured so many of our vessels that they do not know what to do with them in their ports; more than thirty were counted there lately. They are now violating their own regulation to stop none as contraband but vessels loaded with munitions, and they are now stopping all vessels. On our side, we shine by an exquisite equity and generosity: we have lately captured a frigate off the Carolines, and have returned her to England.

His Majesty has taken a habit of conferring often with the Prince de Conti, who gives him advice on matters of government. They write to each other every day, and the prince of the blood carries great portfolios to his work with the king. He has made himself a minister without any formal right to be one, and he is bound to none but himself by this habit. He holds his place exactly as Mme. de Pompadour holds hers: by habit, friendship, and semi-confidence. They tell me that all the ministers and secretaries of State have fallen in the king's esteem, and that he treats them cavalierly. My brother seems to have lost favour with him; his Majesty scarcely looks at or speaks to him. Our monarch is a kind man at bottom, but small in conception; he understands nothing about elevated things; his mind is indolent in going as far as resolution and action, but sometimes flashes of rightmindedness lead him to what historians call: *hoc solo imitatus virum*. He fears philosophers, without hating them; he follows courtiers of common minds and false hearts, without liking them. We must allow, however, that he daily advances somewhat in the art of reigning; he has rightmindedness, but he lacks all courage of mind.

[September 20.] The Company of the Indies assembled

yesterday and resolved upon a loan of twelve millions for which it will give five per cent. M. de Montmartel is also raising money at the same interest, whereas the government is trying to establish the rate at four per cent. People remark that here is a great deal of money raised at once, and that it will, as I have said, cause a furious shaking of the Paris money-market, the only market in the kingdom. I hear it said by all who discuss finance that there never was so much money in Paris, but they will not see that it comes from a bad principle and not a good one.

The kingdom in general is impoverished; the fields are deserted, agriculture diminished in abundance, luxury increases everywhere, commerce is losing its economics, it turns solely to luxury, it lacks raw material, which is the essence of commerce; we have nothing to sell but the trifling things that are now the fashion; we are nothing else than the corrupters of Europe in vain luxury;¹ in matters of commerce we are only the female sellers of toilets—it is true there is a great deal of that. We are bad merchants of grain, inasmuch as we often lack enough to feed ourselves, and buy dear in foreign markets. Wine is laden with subsidies; the soil is abandoned to the farmers-general. The whole management of commerce and the circulation of money is left to the ministers, that is to say, to courtiers who corrupt its methods by their false and selfish views. When the dauphin becomes king we shall see the kingdom governed by bigots and priests,—sad prospect; the present reign is tyranny and anarchy both.

[September 21.] The perpetual rains in Flanders have

¹ Here we see how devoid of all sense of the beautiful d'Argenson's nature was. He little knew that the exquisite decorative art of Louis XV.'s reign would be a treasure to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; thanks chiefly to Mme de Pompadour. — Tr.

determined the Prince de Soubise to treat our troops like those of the pope, which never go out when it rains; the exercises do not take place; and the regiments are to be separated.

[October 2.] Yesterday died of apoplexy at Fontainebleau the Prince de Dombes, son of the late Duc du Maine. For a year past he had been dying of a total debility of nature, so great that he became mad and imbecile at fifty-five years of age, having used up his strength in hunting, in the pleasures of the table, and with courtesans.

They say that we are thinking strongly of attacking the Romans in Rome itself; that is to say, of making a descent upon England. Quantities of little vessels have been hired for this purpose in all our ports. It will be, they tell me, preceded by Prince Edward's arrival in England, and many Jacobites will join the movement for that reason. I know one (who is in the confidence of that prince if any one ever was) who has spent some days with me to take farewell, which meant a great deal. He is the Chevalier Stuart, formerly Prince Edward's minister while the latter was in Scotland. He cannot now be going elsewhere than to follow the plans of the prince.

[October 15.] The king is giving four millions five hundred thousand francs monthly to the naval department, and in the month of January that sum is to be increased to five millions, which makes sixty millions a year. But with it I am told that the department produces little, owing to the bad practices of the chief clerk.

On Sunday last it was decided at the Council of State to give letters of marque, or reprisals, against England to capture in our turn all her vessels that we meet with. These letters were sealed on Sunday morning to be despatched by couriers to their destination that evening. Orders were also

given to detain all English vessels now in our ports ; so here is the war begun on our side.

It is time to show our teeth to such insulting enemies ; they scoff at our keeping to regulations and at our forbearance ; they even say in England that that forbearance denotes some terrible blow on our part which was not expected. As for me, I think that this scenic blow will turn to a declaration of our freedom from the two thraldoms imposed upon us by the treaty of Utrecht : (1) not to recognize the Pretender ; (2) to demolish Dunkerque. By the very moderate conduct we have been holding for the last four months, we have set our good cause in its best light. People no longer think us wicked disturbers of the public peace of Europe ; they no longer think us covetous to acquire ; they see that we have avoided war as much as we could, and even with a patience little worthy of our empire.

Certainly, there is a great deal of harm we can do the English as soon as all our inhabitants along our coast arm themselves for attack ; and the money of private individuals will go to the hope of winning, by this war of reprisals and privateers, encouragement to commerce and deliverance from the dues of the admiralty. This scheme will ruin English commerce.

[October 16.] Intrigues are redoubling at Court. Mme. de Pompadour seems to be increasing in favour ; but my brother still presents a bold front and sustains himself by himself. It is noticed that he follows the king and watches him more assiduously than ever. He studies him, he reads in his eyes, for the king needs to be followed closely ; if you leave him to himself he forgets you and will fail you. They say that my brother is advancing in his design, which is nothing less than to get the marquise sent away. His pretext is the wants of the State and the necessity of not wasting money ;

for Mme. de Pompadour continues to pillage the treasury to glut her sordid greed; the richer she is, the more so she seeks to be, especially through offices of finance and military and Court appointments. So that, money becoming scarce for the treasury and for the war which is urgent, they may finally persuade the king to get rid of this leech which ruins all, wastes all, and dishonours his reign. One moment only is required to consummate this *coup d'État*; the king will groan, and then will think no more about her, and the ministers will be masters of a reign which will soon become despotic.

But certain good things do come from Mme. de Pompadour's rule: she softens the despotism of the ministers, for it was through her that the king became reconciled with parliament; it was she who moderated our course against the English, and who brought the king to a course of mildness and equity. All this may have been done, if you choose, with the sole purpose of thwarting my brother, who stands for despotism and the troubles to which it leads, but it results, nevertheless, for the welfare of the people. Certainly she does great harm in turning the king from all economy at Court, and in promoting unworthy persons to office, — *mala promiscua bonis*; therefore her good counsels are expensive; mildness and equity are bought by luxury. There is now a great crisis in this affair, and a situation which makes it difficult to divine the result.

[October 17.] There is news that the Court of Spain has purged itself of the Jesuits, on account of the intriguing of those fathers; the confession of their Majesties and the royal household is taken from them, and their places are given to Jacobins and secular priests. Ah! how good it would be if that course were imitated here! I even think it will be. The Court of Lisbon has dismissed them, as well as that of Madrid; it is observable that the two events came al-

most at the same time, and that the Court of Portugal seems to have copied that of Madrid. Portugal is angry with the Jesuits, and reasonably so, for the resistance of the Paraguayans in yielding to her what the Spaniards have just made over to them in exchange for the colony of the Sacramento.

Paraguay is becoming a formidable power under the Jesuits, and they say it may some day happen that this new power will seize upon the whole of South America, Chili, Peru, Brazil, etc., and all their rich mines of gold, silver, and precious stones. The Jesuits have formed more than sixty thousand men into regiments, as brave and disciplined as the regiment of Navarre. It is a population that increases daily, like the Hebrews under Moses. The Spaniards have neglected to notice the military progress of this people, just as those poor emperors of Constantinople did with regard to the Saracens, while amusing themselves with their old ecclesiastics; and there will soon be no remedy; for the Jesuits are on the way with great strides toward universal monarchy, like the Turks up to the seventeenth century.

[October 25.] The works that were going on at Toulon in preparing a great fleet are stopped, or, at any rate, much slackened for want of money. Is this to be attributed to policy, or to financial disorder?

The English have laid siege to Fort Frederick on Lake Champlain, but we are marching against them with great appearance of conquering them. The five Iroquois nations have just quarrelled with the English because the latter fired upon them on Lake Ontario, and they have sent deputies to M. de Vaudreuil, our governor-general of Quebec, to form an alliance with us; this is accepted, and the presents given, with orders to immediately attack the English, which they did.

Letters from America describe the desolation of the

English colonies of Virginia, Philadelphia, etc.; ravages massacres, pillages. The English are repenting this war; we are stronger than they,—having more drill, more discipline, and all these cruel barbarians for friends.

[October 29.] There is talk of peace with England. Those insularies are eating one another up with intestine broils, and all their parties are uniting to-day into one for peace; there is even a rumour that the Duke of Cumberland has been sent to the Tower. They say that our conditions are already drawn up, and that those offered to us are very reasonable, and restore to us the vessels they have taken. The Marquis de Saint-Simon is mentioned as our negotiator of the peace in London; they say that while awaiting replies from France he has gone to make a tour to Bath. Pacific English writers are getting the upper hand, especially the author of the “Patriot without Disguise;” he satirizes his compatriots for their assumption, their bad success, and their disasters. The English people are furious with their officers, whether by sea or land. Everything escapes them; our ships of war come back unscathed; the elements are for us; all they have managed to take from us are miserable and defenceless merchant vessels.

The English hold good, however, to their infamous “indemnity,” and declare that their ill-gotten prizes will pay it.

[November 10.] It is said that the Duc and Duchesse de Luynes will withdraw from Court in displeasure that the Duc de Luynes has not been made chevalier of honour in place of the late Maréchal de La Mothe. The Duchesse de Luynes, lady of honour, yields that office to her daughter-in-law, the Duchesse de Chevreuse, who has the survivance. They complain that they have been ill-rewarded for the hundred thousand crowns they have spent in feeding the queen, who goes to supper every evening with her lady of honour!

The convocation of the clergy has ended by a division into two parties : the majority, of seventeen, to which Cardinal de La Rochefoucauld has added himself, making eighteen ; the other side, of sixteen bishops. The latter are for rigourism and desire more than ever refusal of sacraments, notes of confession, interrogatories on dogmatic scandals so-called. The eighteen have set up this fixed principle : that the communion must no more be refused to dying persons in their own house than it is to devout persons at the Holy Table in churches ; that interrogatories on so-called scandals shall not be made ; but that if persons of their own accord anathematize the bull, the sacraments shall be withdrawn (this is the opinion of parliament also), and on these two opposing positions, the clergy have obtained permission from the king to write to the pope — a thing the king ought never to have permitted ; but as this pope is a mild man, it is thought he will decide for the eighteen.

[November 20.] Day before yesterday came the awful news that the city of Lisbon has been suddenly swallowed up by an earthquake, and the parts that escaped that seismic horror were in flames when the courier started. The king and queen are safe ; they were in their château at Belem. The engulfed churches, the palaces, the residences of the Portuguese and foreign ministers — what wealth destroyed ! We also fear bankruptcy for our merchants who corresponded with Portugal. The English, too, will have heavy losses. Great shocks of earthquake were also felt in Madrid. There is no record or tradition that Spain and Portugal were ever visited by this scourge previously.

The dauphine gave birth on the same day to a prince who is called the Comte de Provence [Louis XVIII]. Here's a brave princess who gives us as many props to the throne as

we could wish. On each occasion I am thanked, and truly I have done nothing to hinder it these nine years.

The king affects to defer more than ever to Mme. de Pompadour as prime-minister. It is plainly seen that from her come the opinions and advice of certain men in power, such as the Keeper of the Seals, Machault, and certain ambassadors, or men who are likely to become so; and it is in her, the centre of these affairs, that the king finds two things: consolation under untoward events, and the means of controlling his other ministers.

There is much talk of the Abbé de Bernis as minister of Foreign Affairs, for M. Rouillé is dying, and that is why they have kept the abbé here so long. He has intelligence and a good head; but there will be a long distance of time before he can combine in that head the divers interests of Europe, and he is likely to spoil his work among the many prejudices that inundate our foreign policy. Moreover, the man of wit may obscure for a long time yet the good mind and the action of his native spirit. This office is perpetually changing hands, whereas it ought to be the one that is longest retained.

Mme. de Pompadour has made this selection, if it is really made. She has all the air of being the prime-minister of France, and the king wishes it to be so, and to be outwardly apparent. Certainly, it is better to see at the helm the erect figure of a beautiful nymph rather than that of a crouching old monkey like the late Cardinal de Fleury; but these fine ladies have the tempers of white cats, which show signs of being pleasant enough at first, but will soon bite and scratch you from sudden caprice.

The dauphine ran great risk of dying from the bad after-effects of her confinement. She has all the signs of having been badly delivered, but her robust German constitution

has resisted. She would be a great loss. The dauphin, who is pious, would want a third wife, and that would be costly to the State. The Court physicians are very bad and have little sense. The dauphine is recovering by means of an ointment plaster of Mme. Fouquet ;¹ her safety causes much rejoicing.

They have just established a new royal lottery with a fund of thirty millions, duration twelve years, to be filled before the 1st of next April, tickets six hundred *livres*. It has one novelty, that of preserving and increasing hope in those who put into it as time goes on, by special prizes which go on increasing, so that they will in the end enrich the lucky holder. But these tickets of six hundred *livres* bring in four per cent, until their extinction. This is how they snare Frenchmen by their impatience and their natural illusions. Certainly they are clever philosophers who direct this affair and gain such resources for the king. But it is a dangerous reef for a Court given to dissipation. It is to be observed that this lottery will circulate more royal paper on the market. There is already too much, people say, and the king, instead of paying off his debts, increases them; they fear this affair will come to some bad end.

The king himself is making retrenchments with admirable economy. He has reduced his suppers to few persons and few dishes. He declares that he shall not sleep away from Versailles from now till next October, neither at Compiègne nor at Marly. It is not impossible that, economy finding favour in France, it might become a characteristic of the nation.

¹ "Charitable remedies of Madame Fouquet, to cure at little cost all sorts of ills," Lyon, 1681. 1.12. This book of the mother of Superintendent Fouquet was reprinted many times and still enjoyed a great reputation in the second half of the eighteenth century. — FR. ED.

M. de Cassini¹ announced to the king on the day of the great earthquake at Lisbon (November 1) that there must have taken place some great movement of the earth, judging from the motion of the pendulum at the Observatoire.

[December 14.] The cabal against my brother increases; they tell the king and the public that he does no work, that nothing is accomplished in his department, that officers are left to languish, that he advises his Majesty ill, that he is inaccessible, etc. It must be said that my brother is a singular mixture of propriety and passions, of haughtiness and suppleness. But his personal prudence prevails over all. Mme. de Pompadour accuses him of finding mistresses for the king, and of giving her slaps to mortify her, though he gives himself more to keep friends with her. My son works gently and shrewdly to stand ill with no one and to advance himself little by little in the esteem of the royal family. Oh! what a devil of a country, where so little is thought of doing one's duty! They say of me that I am a *frondeur* in my coterie.

[December 28.] The king has married his mistress, Mlle. Morfi, daughter of an Irish cobbler, to a gentleman of rank (name not told); he is a relation of M. de Soubise, and that prince was witness of the marriage. He was given 200,000 *livres* in money, 1000 louis in jewels, and 1000 more for wedding expenses. She was ordered at four o'clock in the morning to leave Versailles and go to Paris; there she received an unexpected order to marry, which she was forced to obey; immediately after her marriage she was sent into the provinces with her husband. The king takes charge of

¹ Grandson of the great Italian astronomer, called to France by Colbert; he organized the Observatoire in Paris, and was himself a great geographer; with his son he made the first map of France. — Tr.

the child he had by her, and we shall soon see him make a great seigneur of him. His Majesty has taken a new mistress, the daughter of a hair-dresser, who, they say, is very pretty. Mme. de Pompadour remains the friend, and plays the part of prime-minister.

XII.

1755-1757.

[JANUARY 1, 1756.] The Maréchal de Richelieu appears to be the man who is to command our forces on the coasts of the Mediterranean, with the Duc de Mirepoix under his orders.

Grand quarrel between the Houses of Condé and Conti; M. de Charolais has had the forest of Halatte poisoned, by throwing about it poisoned pieces of venison which communicate their venom to the wolves and dogs that frequent it. The Prince de Conti complained to the king. His Majesty sent for the Comte de Charolais; the latter gave as his reason that since the marriage of the Prince de Condé to Mlle. de Soubise the Prince de Conti affected not to see him, and had even insulted him; that he hunted continually over the lands of Chantilly of which the forest of Halatte is a part, which is a thing never done among gentlemen. The king said that he approved of his conduct, and left things as they were.

[January 3.] Our manifesto declaring our complaint against England with all the right and reason that we have is being printed. The Abbé de la Ville has surpassed himself in eloquence, but it will be at the same time a declaration of war.

The dauphin has the characteristic of wanting to do in all things precisely the opposite of the king, his father; he loves women ardently, but contents himself with his wife, whom he does not love; he is bigoted in a way in which

the king is not, he likes priests and bishops because the king ill-treats them. But with all these practices, he gives no prospect of being the delight of the human race when he reigns. Listen to the bourgeois, and you will hear them dreading his accession to the throne as a calamity; the contrast makes them cherish the father. It is fear of the priesthood that inspires these sentiments of dread in the people.

[January 4.] At last, here is war declared against the English. On the 2d of this month M. Rouillé (minister of Foreign Affairs) read to an audience of the foreign ambassadors a declaration of the king dated on the 21st of last month, and already sent to our ambassador to convey to Colonel York, the British minister, who has acknowledged the receipt of it. In it the king declares that "his Britannic Majesty must return to him the vessels he has seized, and agree immediately to a congress for the settlement of our boundaries in America, otherwise he will take the refusal as a denial of justice and a declaration of war, and his Majesty will regard the English as disturbers of the peace of Europe."

There is talk here of an impending descent upon England, troops are being collected in great numbers on the coasts, also vessels. This will draw the British naval forces into the Channel and away from America. We also propose to make a descent on the island of Minorca, or Gibraltar, which would charm Spain. Privateers are being encouraged, and wise measures are taken not to claim any right to a tenth of their prizes; moreover, the king promises military rewards to such as distinguish themselves; and as there is no reckoning the duration of this war, born of caprice, the king promises to buy back at the close of it such vessels as the English may have taken and not paid for.

[January 7.] It is now known that the Demoiselle Morfi was married to a major of infantry named d'Ayat, a poor gentleman of Auvergne who had but eight hundred *livres* a year, between him and his mother, from a little property at the foot of the mountains. He went away immediately after the marriage; and the fair one has orders not to show herself in any city.

The king's new mistress is named Fouquet, daughter of a hair-dresser, pretty and witty, and possibly able to drive away the marquise. The Court to-day is nothing else than a *lupanar*. Quantities of women inundate the apartments of our princesses; a Court not gallant, but dissolute; great ladies can be seen running about in *deshabille*, and their maids carrying letters of assignation; this attracts young men; never was the Court so numerous.

Mme. de Pompadour remains powerful in influence, although she has no longer the functions of a mistress, having become the centre of consolation to the king in public matters. She serves as a check on the ministers and especially against my brother; she has gathered about her certain men who have some understanding of affairs, such as MM. de Machault and Montmartel, etc. The king, in truth, feels himself safe with none but this coterie; they are other himself. My brother has a sad and preoccupied air, as the public noticed at his last audience. He is harried on all sides; they impute to him the difficulty in paying the war expenses, they blame him for the slowness of the preparations. I resume my love for him on account of the unhappy state in which I see him.

[January 19.] The English count one hundred and three prizes taken from us and four thousand sailors, many of whom are dying as thick as flies of misery and some epidemic malady.

News from the English colonies is very bad, owing to the attacks of savages. Nearly all of these are their enemies and our friends, because of the avarice and harshness of the English. Their colonies have just proposed a system of federal union, like that of many republics, such as Switzerland, the United Provinces, and the Empire of Germany. Twenty-three articles on this have appeared in the "Gazette," but it is doubtful whether the scheme succeeds; for if these divers colonies have not rebelled against the Britannic government in Europe, they are not in a position to receive and observe this law; all they want is their freedom, their works, and their defensive. If they are attacked to-day by savages they have it to say that the fault is with the mother country; they can say: "Let us live on good terms with the French colonies and we shall not be attacked." Thus, throughout all this, blundering upon blundering on the part of the Hanoverian-Britannic government.

They are deliberating much in London on the French declaration for reparation of injuries, or war.

[January 26.] It is said that the King of Prussia has made a treaty with his Britannic Majesty to guarantee to him the Hanoverian States against, and in spite of us. He puts one condition, namely: that he shall not send foreign troops into the empire. Let us wait the verification of this fact so as not to waste trouble in arguing it.

[January 27.] The news is true; the King of Prussia has signed the treaty with his Britannic Majesty; and at once comes an inundation of *frondeurs*, crying out that all is lost because we have no longer any allies. Well! of what use are allies unless for good ends? I have always said as to this: Let the King of Prussia keep Silesia; he is our ally, and the best ally we can have, because he diminishes the Austrian power. Here he guards it, he de-

livers us from all fear of seeing it attacked, therefore he is playing the rôle we want of him. He preserves Germany from an influx of Russians. Meantime England is ruining herself — another good thing for France.

[January 28.] J.-J. Rousseau of Geneva, cynical philosopher, is now at work on an analysis of the political works of the Abbé de Saint-Pierre, a great and bold citizen; whose arguments are as sound as his methods are stupid, because he did not understand the men of his day nor the recesses of their hearts. Virtuous passions were his mainspring; he is famous in foreign lands, and made ridiculous in our France; it is a good service to render to the country thus to revive his memory.

I am assured that the King of Prussia warned us several times that he was being tormented to sign that treaty, and that he said at table that he could not trust a government (the French) who did not even know how to make the limbs of the law and the priests agree. They say that by this treaty the King of Prussia pays off to England his debt hypothecated on Silesia, in compensation of the vessels England had taken from him and kept.

There is a strong party at our Court for the Court of Vienna; Austria has always had emissaries among us; the jesuitical manner of that Court disguises its desire to injure us. I hear those emissaries saying that the House of Austria of to-day is no longer that of other days in strength, that, on the contrary, she is weak and has need of us, and we ought to ally ourselves closely with her. I know those insinuations; it is to having opposed them that I owe my dismissal from office in 1747. The emissaries of Austria are preaching now to us against the King of Prussia, asserting that he is wholly English, and they are spurring us against him to get us to despoil him if we can. Thus we sulk against Spain, and we

are irritated against Prussia, our true and sincere ally; and all this is incited at Court *femineo ululatu*.

[February 10.] Sunday night announcement was made at Court that the Marquise de Pompadour was received into the number of the ladies of the queen's palace, which is conjectured to be a declaration that she is no longer the king's mistress; it is even said that she is beginning to talk Molinism and devotion, by which she means to please the queen as she has pleased the king. All the influence that we have seen her gain during the last three years, when the king has taken other mistresses, was won by the gentleness and good-nature with which she accepted her lover's infidelity; but it is very precarious. It is conjectured that she will remain the king's friend; she will be the conciliator between husband and wife, the arbiter and channel of favours to the royal family, regular in the practice of religion, if not devout, charitable and irreproachable in conduct, the friend of every one; in short, playing at court a great rôle and worthy of a good mind. It is even thought she will persuade our monarch to enough devotion to perform his Easter duties. But she is very rich, they say, and she ought to make restitution to the poor.

The other ladies of the palace complain that ladies of the highest rank must associate with her. They have joined in a representation to the queen that they cannot keep their offices if they are obliged to accept as their companion Mlle. Poisson, daughter of a lacquey who was condemned to be hanged. The queen received their remonstrance badly; the marquise complained to the king, who did not sleep all night. The king is blamed universally; for why, they say, did he exact this thing from the queen? The enemies of the marquise are radiant over this affair. But there is no sign that the king will detach himself from her, and perhaps he will

be piqued into showing her the more favour in proportion to the oburgations showered upon her by this ridiculous proceeding.

The queen is painting bad pictures, the Duchesse of Modena paints big ones, in oil, the whole Court paints or illuminates; that is the fashionable occupation of the day; Mme. de Pompadour engraves. My son has almost supplanted my brother in the queen's favour; he espouses the Jesuitical side, which is a great merit in the eyes of the royal family.

[February 15.] This little event, of Mme. de Pompadour becoming lady of the palace to the queen, is the subject of all the conversations at Court and is much argued in Paris. It is certain that the kingdom suffers and will suffer more and more from this attachment of his Majesty. I am willing that private persons should confide in a mistress whom they believe to be devoted to their interests; it causes little scandal, and is even to edification and decency, according to the relaxing of our present manners, which is bringing us nearer and nearer to nature; but when it comes to the administration of a kingdom, I cannot away with it; the decency, duty, dignity of government have a just horror of this practice. As for its effects, we see what comes of it. This woman is immensely rich; we see her meddling in finances; we see also that foreign affairs are led by her flippancy. She wants to keep the king tranquil by hopes, never by the force and decision of his actions. She is not an Agnes Sorel, the inspirer of honourable and dignified resolutions, nor the Catherine trusted by a czar for her business capacity (which was equal to that of an able man and worthy of the confidence he placed in her), to preserve and continue his political system after his death. The king himself, though he spins for Omphale, is no Hercules; he is an enslaved and subjugated lover who fears to displease his

mistress. This one loves him after her fashion and dreads to offend him; but she has all the defects of her age, her low birth, and her trade of kept mistress. They say that the queen's answer to the king's request that she would give the place of lady of the palace to the marquise was as follows, and that President Hénault inspired it — I should state that though the queen goes every day to see the king on his rising, when they have anything to ask of each other it is always done in writing. The queen's answer on this occasion was: "Sire, I have a King in heaven who gives me strength to bear my woes, and a king on earth whom I shall always obey."

[February 18.] Deplorable news and description of nine thousand Frenchmen inhabiting the portion of Acadia claimed by the English, and taken from us by them. They were carried off and distributed — these French people — among the various English colonies, where they are destitute, treated like slaves, and naked. The English attempted to exact from them both oath and service against their country; they refused and they are now endeavouring to return to France.¹

[March 2.] It is very true that about a month ago the king consented, though reluctantly, to replace M. Chauvelin in the ministry. I do not know on what conditions, but they were such that M. Chauvelin desired others, in view of his former dignity, that were wholly different; and moreover, considering the present distressful state of affairs, he preferred private life to the dangers he would have to encounter. After this, the king, on his side, declared that he wished to hear no more about it.

[March 9.] Here is a very incomprehensible piece of

¹ See the touching poem of "Evangeline" by the poet Longfellow. — FR. ED.

news: orders have been given to release all English vessels taken in our ports, while the English continue to capture ours. Thus they are leaving in our ports and cities English merchants who take our merchandise and bring us theirs under pretext that they are useful to us and we should injure ourselves by sending them away! Also it is claimed that we shall win the English nation by such gentleness and patience under all trials.

[March 15.] The English have just captured fifteen more of our merchant vessels; our commercial houses will fail. There is great talk about the affairs of the Jesuits in our islands; they usually take charge of the sales of merchandise and draw the money by letters of exchange on their correspondents in our ports. Now, the English have seized the vessels and their letters of exchange have been protested or unduly paid. This bankruptcy amounts to two millions. The question arises: Why do priests meddle with business?

Our soldiery are marching to their destination in Provence and Normandy; all things are being seriously prepared for sieges; there is no longer any doubt of a siege of Port-Mahon and an invasion of England. On the other hand, England is invoking all the help she can get from her allies, saying to them: "I am about to be attacked on my own ground, help me on other sides; make diversions against France." Our warriors are satisfied, being about to have a land war; poor France is in great distress! Moreover, our government is in worse odour than it ever was before; and our enemies are right in saying: "We have only to let it act;" our ministry works better for them than it does for us.

My advice is wholly different; I have given it in writing. I do not wish a land war. We cannot do the English harm enough in that way. But the Court would have it; and our courtier-warriors have got what they wanted.

When the king was out hunting the other day he met the Orléans regiment marching towards Normandie, and found it without officers, without flags, drums, or arms; all the latter were in carts, and the officers were in Paris. The king scolded vehemently; the lieutenant-colonel, who is my nephew, was, it is true, marching at the head of the regiment, but this negligence was laid at his door and brought him a severe reprimand.

[March 18.] The secret of our expeditions has been confided to me. The siege of Port-Mahon in the island of Minorca has been determined on. There are but three battalions now there; we shall embark fifteen thousand men to take the island and the fort. They will start by the 1st of April; it is reckoned to be an affair of fifteen days; the fleet of M. de la Gallissonnière will transport the soldiers and then return to Toulon. It will be to the interest of the Spanish to support us in this conquest and to give shelter to our conquering soldiers; no one doubts that Spain will be very glad to obtain from our hands the restoration of her old domain, and the partisans of a land war assure us that peace will be made if we succeed in this project.

By news from England to the 8th of this month, they had got no further than sending sailors to Plymouth to equip the fleet which is to go to the Mediterranean, and we shall have plenty of time, it is thought, to complete our siege. They also write that all is in a turmoil in England and that on the 15th of this month there is to be a change of ministry.

[March 20.] It is decided that the Comte de Maillebois, my son-in-law, is to command the siege of Port-Mahon, and that his general, Maréchal de Richelieu, will be stationed on the mainland. This angers the maréchal, and they say that his departure for the army is postponed for some days.

The delay is really caused, I believe, by the King of Sardinia preparing to threaten Dauphiné and Provence in order to prevent the siege of Port-Mahon. This is just what I foresaw — diversions.

The Maréchal de Richelieu is bent on going to Port-Mahon and conducting the siege himself. He exhibits himself as heedless, rash, presumptuous, ardently desiring the end without the means. It is he who appointed my friend Redmont, to whom I wish more capacity than I think he has, to the place of quartermaster-general of the army. His adviser is M. du Mesnil, another presumptuous giddy-head, and a rascal in money.

An able navy man with whom I have talked tells me that our intended enterprise on Port-Mahon is impossible; that the enemy will be there as soon as, and sooner than we; that the same wind which will take us from Toulon to Port-Mahon will bring the enemy through the Straits of Gibraltar; and he thinks that this great talk of the enterprise has all the air of a feint. He says, too, that Mahon is very well fortified on all sides, and that we cannot blockade it by sea, the English being our superiors on that element. Therefore, supposing that this is undertaken, it is folly, he thinks.

They say of our generals destined for the command of those coasts (M. de Belleisle at sea and M. de Richelieu on shore) that the first works much and does nothing, and that the second does not work and does foolish things; the one being learned and a pedant, and the other ignorant and light-minded. Such is the opinion entertained of our government: contempt by foreigners; fear by citizens.

[March 27.] Our enterprise on Port-Mahon is believed to be a certainty. There are but fifteen hundred English soldiers on the island; the landing is easy and will be made April 2. During this time the fleet of Admiral

Hawke, which was said to have sailed March 11 to protect Minorca, put to sea in the other direction, and has gone, they say, to threaten our Windward Islands. Admiral Byng's fleet did not sail for Minorca until to-day, and it will take it a month to get there. They assure me there is only a single wall at Mahon, covering it on the land side, and that we can easily take the two tongues of land which form the port, the batteries having no range except seaward,—none at all at their rear. With fifteen thousand men we can easily seize the island; which is really the greatest vengeance we can inflict on the English, because it will assuredly destroy their commerce with the Levant.

[April 2.] Word comes from Marseille that all our generals and officers have arrived there and at Toulon, but found nothing ready. They blame the *Sieur Villebranche*, intendant of Toulon, who has very little intelligence. He had forgotten that sailors were necessary and they are now bringing them to the seaboard overland. It is thought that we may be able to set sail by April 10; meantime the English under Admiral Byng are advancing to prevent us from landing.

[April 17.] A courier arrived from Toulon last night bringing news to the 12th of April that our fleet had sailed from the *Îles d'Hyères* for Port-Mahon, and was thought to have arrived there on the evening of the 14th. There had been goings and comings, contrary winds, return to port, anchorage off Hyères, but finally the fleet sailed and disappeared on the horizon with the army and all that is needed for a glorious siege. Sixteen thousand men were embarked at Toulon. We have thirteen ships of the line, four frigates, and eighteen gunboats which carry as many as twenty guns each.

[April 22.] A Spanish merchantman reports that it met our fleet on its way to Port-Mahon. The English have only five vessels at this moment in the Mediterranean, and they hope for nothing at Port-Mahon, where the defences are very ill-prepared. The Spanish ambassador in Paris shows great joy. He has received and despatched three couriers this week, to Madrid; they write that Spain sends twenty vessels to join our fleet at Mahon, and that after that place is taken she will lead us to the conquest of Gibraltar — for Spain has a passion for recovering Gibraltar, a veritable tenacity. After taking Mahon we may well crown our work at Gibraltar; by rendering it useless, we deprive the English of their commerce in the Levant. The fleet they were sending from England to Mahon returned to the Channel ports on the 11th and had not left them on the 12th of this month.

[April 27.] The Marquise de Pompadour is reinstated in the loves and caresses of the Very-Christian king; she disposes of all more than ever by the tone she takes. Consequently, pensions multiply. What a pity! The Court is a gulf of expenditure; the marquise is an obstacle to all reform. They are making a fine genealogy for Mme. de Pompadour and her brother. Their name is Poisson and they bear fish for arms. Now it has been discovered that the house of the sovereigns of Bar bear for arms fish with a silver bar, and our heralds are composing a history to prove that these Poissons were a younger branch who displeased the elder and reigning branch and were unjustly deprived of their silver bar; titles are being made. Behold the folly of persons whose fortunes make a sudden rise at Court!

[April 29.] There is much uneasiness at Court from getting no news of the landing of our army at Minorca.

Some think it may have gone to besiege Gibraltar, as the English have lessened that garrison to strengthen Mahon; for according to last reports that fortress is better supplied than we had thought. There are three thousand men in garrison, much artillery, and quantities of intrenchments and batteries on the side where our men must land.

[May 1.] At last a courier arrived at Versailles at midnight. He was the Maréchal de Richelieu's equerry, bringing news that on the 18th, Easter Sunday, we gained possession of nearly the whole island of Minorca and the town of Mahon; nothing remains to be taken but Fort Saint-Philippe, which ought not to hold out more than a week. We captured five vessels in port; but the enemy had removed the guns and the crews.

M. de la Gallissonnière with his fleet sailed at once to meet the enemy's fleet which is on its way to succour Port-Mahon. The squadron of M. Perrier de Salvert has captured three English ships off the coast of Spain, and has taken them to Cadiz. And Hawke's squadron has captured, also off the Spanish coast, several little vessels that we were sending to America. Admiral Boscawen is about to sail with a reinforcement of eight vessels.

[May 13.] The English are much dissatisfied with their German king; and if a prompt revolution were to dethrone him, it would give us peace. Some one asked the other day where was the English fleet that ought to have protected Port-Mahon, and an English woman, the Countess of Sandwich, answered, "In King George's pocket."

[May 29.] We heard yesterday that Fort Saint-Philippe had capitulated and the garrison were prisoners of war. This news, however, is not altogether confirmed.

[May 31.] The king announces that he has just received despatches by which it appears that our fleet, commanded by

M. de la Gallissonnière, was attacked on the 20th of the month by Admiral Byng with thirteen ships of the line, and five frigates ; we lost thirty-seven men, and have one hundred and seventy-five wounded ; but the enemy was disabled and retreated in great haste. M. de la Gallissonnière repaired at once and sailed in pursuit.¹

There is no doubt that Fort Saint-Philippe has by this time surrendered, that it has no longer any hope of succour. Much is said, in relation to this siege, of the ability and bravery of the Comte de Maillebois. I have just received letters to the 24th brought by courier. Maréchal de Richelieu charged the friend who was writing to me to tell me that Fort Saint-Philippe was not so easy to take as people thought. It has fortifications on fortifications ; and we have not enough bombs or mortars.

[June 10.] Mme. de Pompadour gives herself out as the author of this new and bad treaty of ours with the Court of Vienna, as if she had done a great stroke of policy in giving us a powerful friend in the Empress, and in playing an evil trick to the King of Prussia. They say that the latter is turning against us, and all this is very bad. There is much talk of the marriage of the granddaughter of the king, the daughter of the Infanta and the Infant Don Philip, Duke of Parma, to the grand-duke, in return for which we are to connive at the latter's election to the Holy Roman Empire, both objects being very bad, but flattering to the king, who loves his family. There is talk also of changing the Italian duchy of Don Philip for the Low Countries, which I doubt, and I believe the Court of Vienna is only laughing at us. Thus we are contributing to the aggrandizement of

¹ The unfortunate English Admiral Byng was tried by court-martial the following year and shot for not having on this occasion done his utmost. It is generally thought that the sentence was unjust and vindictive. — Tr

the new House of Austria, — a bad principle. They say that Mme. de Pompadour has done this fine work in concert with the Abbé de Bernis, her favourite, appointed as ambassador to Spain, but more likely destined to the ministry of Foreign Affairs.

[June 11.] The English have sent their famous Admiral Anson, the head of the Admiralty, to relieve Port-Mahon with a great squadron, and there is no doubt it is well-armed, for Anson is master of ordnance. They say it cannot arrive in sight of M. de la Gallissonnière before the 30th of this month. On the other hand we hear that the five vessels ordered from Toulon to reinforce the latter will not be ready to start before the 25th. On this, bets are being laid in England, such, for instance, as this: that Maréchal de Richelieu will be taken prisoner and sent to England before July 15. Three bankers have invested one hundred thousand crowns in these bets; and our government allows them to be taken as a means of knowing good Frenchmen: many persons in Paris have sent in their money, with notes and agreements legally drawn up.

[June 12.] I learn the following anecdotes of our alliance with the Court of Vienna: it is the work of Mme. de Pompadour, and it is purely an affair of the Court and the women, in which the king's love of family prevailed, the interests of the State being thrust aside; which is not creditable to our monarch, the Well-beloved. Here's the danger of listening to favourites; sorrow to any one who, having anything to fear at Court, should venture to blame this treaty. The Marquise de Pompadour put herself at the head of this project; it has rendered her more necessary and more of a favourite than ever, although the king has at this moment a secret little harem in his cabinets, composed of three young and very pretty grisettes; Mlle. Fouquet, daughter of a hair-dresser,

Mlle. Hénaut, and a third of the same extraction, named Robert, who is very pretty, has intelligence, and is well-educated. One of them paints well, and has painted the king; two of them live at the Château, the other at the Parc-au-Cerfs.

It is this project of marrying the Infanta Isabella to the archduke which has made the fortune of the Abbé de Bernis; he passed through Parma and made long stays there when ambassador to Venice; every one assures me that he will soon be a secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. This, which has long been meditated, puts me aside from my return to the ministry, though the king still has much esteem and even friendship for me. But I am known as a very bad Austrian, and, truly, we owe to that power nothing but indefatigable bad offices in Europe, especially with our friends in Germany, Italy, and the North. President de Montesquieu says in his "*Esprit des Lois*" with great meaning that "a courtier is one who sets his hope on the weakness of princes." Thus have prospered the Abbé de Bernis, the Marquise de Pompadour, the Maréchal de Belleisle (by diplomacy), and my brother by gratifying his Majesty's instinctive dislike to parliaments and Jansenists, as well as his curiosity for incidents which he obtains from his spies in Paris.

[June 18.] The English people, having heard of the treaty of Vienna, have flogged the effigy of Maria Theresa, Queen of Hungary, in all the public squares of London, in imitation of the same ridiculous indignity to which they subject the pope's image yearly. They manufactured a queen of osier, with a huge behind which they covered with flesh-coloured paper, an imperial crown, and a label calling her ungrateful and perjured; then they took her into all their public squares and flogged her with a birch rod.

There is news that the garrison of Fort Saint-Philippe has

made a sortie which was abortive; we made eight hundred prisoners, as many more were killed and wounded, so that the surrender of the place seems imminent, and our conquest of Minorca will be perfected. I am told that during this siege, the army has observed the bad effect of the late innovation which unites, without reason, the corps of engineers to that of the artillery; the latter now ranking the engineers, who have consequently become disheartened and do nothing of value.

[July 4.] A great stroke has lately been played, and one which will immensely extend the rights of the parliament of Paris and of the other parliaments of the kingdom. They printed in Paris, without permission, and sold publicly at the Palais de Justice the remonstrances of the parliament of Bordeaux made to the king on May 26 and June 16 last; these complain of the decisions of the king's Council and of letters from the chancellor maltreating the said parliament on account of its resistance to certain decisions in relation to affairs in Guyenne. On which resistance it was exiled, its chief-clerk deprived of his civil rights, and its ushers imprisoned. The said parliament then made these remonstrances to the king, setting forth the fundamental laws of the kingdom.

The king's lawyers brought the printed document to the Chambers of the parliament of Paris, requiring its suppression as being printed without permission and against the regulations of the police. The parliament of Paris on this took an unexpected course. It was very glad to be made officially to take notice of the grave complaints of the parliament of Bordeaux, and, while giving no reply to the request for suppression, it voted remonstrances to the king on "the daily shocks [*surprises*] given to the religion of his Majesty, shocks which tend to destroy the security of

officers of all classes in his parliament, and which also tend to annihilate the magistracy and all justice in the State."

This, it seems to me, is the first time that parliament has declared to the king and to the public its fundamental principle that all parliaments are one, though distributed in different regions and classes. *Nota*: that word "class," marking inequality, may shock our provincial parliaments.

Here, then, is the beginning of the visible and public junction of all the parliaments to make common cause and to demand the observance of fundamental laws, among which they place the forms of justice. In future, at each point we shall see them return to this theme of constitutive law. This goes straight towards the assembling of the States-General of the kingdom; and even to a union of the parliaments forming a junction with the princes and peers (to which this is leading), which would have more weight and effect than the States-General itself. Here would be a national government fully formed, — with one advantage, namely: the clergy would not be in it.

[July 11.] Yesterday, Saturday, came the great news that Fort Saint-Philippe is taken. It was brought by the Duc de Fronsac, son of the Maréchal de Richelieu: but we await M. d'Egmont for the details of the capitulation. It was incumbent on M. de Richelieu to finish this affair, for Admiral Hawke had reached Gibraltar with a numerous squadron. The evening before the general assault the Comte de Maillebois went himself and alone along the covered way, and saw almost no one.

[July 12.] The Maréchal de Belleisle, arriving from Dunkerque, declares that, the king having desired to re-establish the fortress and fort as they were before 1714, five hundred labourers were at once put to work. They first began at the great flood-gates, where they found the arches

intact; these and the fortifications had been razed to the level of the ground only, the foundations were left hidden by a little sand. I knew we had tricked the English, and good work it was; in three months the fortress can be entirely restored. The *maréchal* declares this will be forever, and that henceforth nothing can oblige the king to demolish Dunkerque.

Nothing is now lacking to our proceedings but to give a new asylum to the House of Stuart. These two servitudes, imposed upon us by the peace of Utrecht, were against the rights of the French people, and the English themselves have released us by their atrocity.

But here's a great disaster; on the 5th of this month a great conflagration of the port of Rochefort broke out; wood for the construction of ships, masts, etc., burned up in one night. They estimate the loss at twelve hundred thousand *livres*. The English are accused, with some likelihood, of having bribed servants and incendiaries for this purpose.

[July 15.] A courtier tells me that the Abbé de Bernis assumes at Compiègne all the airs of a prime-minister; and that this Court intrigue is a great crisis for my brother; for his quarrel with the marquise is now open, and if she can place the Abbé de Bernis in the ministry of Foreign Affairs she will govern everything through him. She appears to be a great Austrian, and as the present change of system is her doing she will hold to it the more firmly.

[July 16.] People are saying that Port-Mahon should be returned to Spain. For my part, I wish they would demolish the fortress and fling its ruins into the sea. But they want to take Gibraltar; in other words, drive the English out of the Mediterranean, take away all their allies, all their commerce, and plunge them into universal bankruptcy.

No; we ought to withdraw into a solid and well-secured defensive; and not pass out of it to the offensive and for destruction. Do the first, and Divine providence will assist us; do the second, and God will humiliate us. France seems to-day to be "the people of God," such as Hebrew history depicts its nation; we seem to be the first to show, with force and intelligence, the example of philosophy to the society of nations; but let us beware of abusing celestial favour. I repeat it; the defensive is our rôle.

[July 22.] We found an enormous quantity of provisions in Fort Saint-Philippe; rations for six months; two hundred and forty cannon; twenty-four thousand cannon-balls; twelve hundred shells; seven hundred thousand pounds of powder. A man who was in London when the news of the taking of Fort Saint-Philippe arrived, tells me that every one was in the greatest consternation; all the doors and shops were closed; a decent man dared not walk in the streets for fear of being torn to pieces by the populace, especially a Hanoverian. The cause for this is that the English vessels were not equipped, and all this parade of the great number of vessels they had against us was only on paper,— "In the pocket of King George," as Lady Sandwich said.

M. de la Gallissonnière, with his fleet, has returned to Toulon; leaving, however, force enough to defend Minorca against the English, who may attempt to surprise us.

[July 23.] We ought never to forget a singular trait, and one honourable to the French nation, which occurred during the siege: Wine being excellent and very cheap on the island of Minorca, our soldiers got drunk. To remedy this, the general merely issued an order of the day that drunkards should not mount the trenches or appear in the ranks if they had been drinking, and instantly all drunkenness ceased.

[July 24.] Singular manifesto of the Marquis Roux, rich merchant of Marseille, who invites persons to fit out privateers under his direction; he has, he says, a great vengeance to take on England, which took prizes from him during the late war worth six millions. He offers to all privateers an enormous salary, details given in his public manifesto. He has already seven corsairs at sea.¹

[August 10.] Yesterday they put in the Bastille the Sieur de la Beaumelle, author and editor of the "Memoirs of Madame Maintenon." It is astonishing that they have tolerated from this man so many indiscreet and malignant things. But he had made a hero of the Maréchal de Noailles, and boasted much of his protection, which, however, went no further than a certain degree.

The poet Voltaire having asked my brother for permission to come to Paris and attend to some business, he was refused; on which Voltaire answered with an epigram, which every one is copying; in it he vaunts the joys of retirement, and wishes for my brother's happiness and that of France, that he may soon taste those joys. It begins thus: "By your temper the world is governed."²

[August 24.] The *lit de justice* of August 21 took place tranquilly. The officers of parliament declined to give their votes. The chief-president made an harangue of much force and dignity; he especially apostrophized the ministers, to whom he imputed great enmity toward the parliaments, and this was done with much eloquence.

On Sunday, 22d, this same leader of parliament carried to Versailles the remonstrances on the humiliations offered to parliament; and they tell me that nothing was ever

¹ See Appendix II.

² This was an epigram by Maynard on Cardinal Richelieu, and not by Voltaire on Comte d'Argenson. — FR. ED.

stronger or bolder. As it is placed on record we shall soon see it in print; and all this casts many seeds of liberty into the minds and hearts of the people.

[August 29.] It is decided that the Abbé de Bernis goes as ambassador to Vienna and M. d'Aubeterre, just returned from there, to Madrid. The ministers propose to crush the abbé and his system in his absence. Adieu, then, to the ministry for him. A very well informed man told me this; he also told me that the entire ministry is leagued against the Abbé de Bernis. He is the favourite of the Marquise de Pompadour. M. de Machault, Keeper of the Seals, fears he will get the advantage of him in governing her; others loudly declaim against his Austrian system, because they see that great false system will force them out of office.

[September 2.] The King of Prussia, with a large army, has crossed Saxony and is marching straight to Bohemia to attack it. He has taken this course because the empress-queen answered his inquiries in a manner that was equivocal. He asked her the meaning of her great armament in his vicinity; what was the nature of her new alliance with Russia? did she mean to attack him or not, this year or next? To all of which she answered ambiguously, he questioning in a haughty manner. Whereupon he marches fearlessly right into the heart of the territory of her whom he regards as his enemy. M. de Valori, our minister at Berlin, sent this news to Court by a courier who also brings me a letter from him in which he adds reflections; he fears, as I do, that perfidious Albion will betray the king and is only seeking his downfall instead of assisting him. He thinks that Prussia may win at first, but that in the long run she will be conquered; he believes, however, that Russia is only a famous trollop, and that Bestuchef dares not march.

[October 2.] The cabinets prevail; the marquise obtains

and exhibits daily, and on all occasions, her great favour; she takes charge of all the bad petitions, she seasons them with charm, what are called the "red heels" applaud; the Court has made her mistress of everything. Meanwhile the State is falling to pieces; the sole stipulators for any good (if there are any honest men at Court) adhere to the cabinets for self-preservation. The war into which we are rushing to support and increase the Austrian tyranny is the work of favourites, male and female, cabinets, etc. We have seen, under bad reigns and wicked ministers, France standing neuter and allowing Austrian tyranny to grow up by degrees, but we have never before assisted it; that was reserved for our courtier age. What shame for the king!

[November 4.] A well-informed man of the Court depicts to me the state of the Council and of public affairs in a manner which makes me tremble for the fate of our country. The king understands nothing at all; he lets himself be pushed along by his little ignorant partialities; to some things he has only indifference, in others he is influenced by passions for Austria and against Prussia. He wants tranquillity, and he therefore yields himself up to the ignorant and prejudiced counsels of Mme. de Pompadour and the Abbé de Bernis, the lady's adviser. Thus his Majesty has been brought to regard the King of Prussia as the scourge of God and the maddest of men, and he would like to drive to all lengths against him the empress-queen, to whom he attributes much sincerity. But the great superiority of the King of Prussia, and his manifestoes against Saxony are beginning to have their effect on the public mind. I know, moreover, through my foreign correspondence, that his Prussian Majesty is ready to receive from us an equitable peace.

[November 16.] Every one is now convinced that the pope's letter has arrived, to put an end to the quarrels on the

bull Unigenitus between the clergy and magistracy; it is believed that the pope is quite willing that the parliaments should punish the clergy who refuse the sacraments to those who oppose the bull, but he is not willing that they should order the clergy to administer them, they not being competent to do so: and this is the sole point in his letter which may displease the parliaments. Furthermore, his Holiness thinks it right that the king should enjoin silence, that he has the right to do so, and that laymen commit no sin in not receiving the bull. It is expected that parliament will imitate now what it did in 1754, namely: pass over a preamble that offends it, and register the letter because of the good things it contains; though some persons think that the brief, that is, the letter, is such that neither the parliaments nor the bishops will be content with it.

[November 18.] My brother was satisfied with the Abbé de Bernis so long as he contributed to diminish the power of the Keeper of the Seals, in the matter of the re-establishment of the navy, but since then the abbé's intimate relations with Mme. de Pompadour affront my brother to a degree so inconceivable that it has become a passion which surmounts all else except his rancour against that lady.

[December 1.] The Prince de Conti has just taken away his furniture and given up his apartment at Versailles, declaring that he will never go back there. The king was very weary of him and his memorials and his indefatigable hard work. One fine morning the king sealed up all his memorials and sent them back to the prince; the latter went off to sulk at Isle-Adam, and there took the decision I have just mentioned, which has made an event at Court.

[December 6.] I am more and more convinced that Mme. de Pompadour has become the prime-minister of France, and that the king is delivering himself over to the false and

contradictory counsels of that woman ; his subjection through the senses is over, but he remains under that of souls. This favourite has little mind ; but Louis XV., by his timidity, by his lack of clear-sightedness and of expedients, has put himself far below her ; thus in all discussions and proposals she has over him the superiority of a strong soul over a weak one. She wills firmly ; on the other hand, she has taken care to associate with her men qualified for public affairs, such as M. de Machault and the Abbé de Bernis. Those of our ministers who have found it to their interest to agree in some of her ideas applaud them, and it is thus that this woman has much more authority through public business, than she had through voluptuousness. It is she who to-day is conducting this great war between the magistracy and the episcopacy ; at the present moment she is for the bishops. She has said to the king : " Be firm, be haughty, you have the pope with you." This is true, for the pope's tone is much modified ; it needed a pope as mild as this one to be made to soften the brief he had just given.

We shall therefore see the king more episcopal, more bullist than Louis XIV. ever was. He will break up the parliaments, and we shall see many troubles until he sends away his evil counsellors, male and female.

Never was the maxim of President de Montesquieu, in his book on the " Laws " more strictly true, that " the courtier is he who puts all his hopes on the weakness of a king." In this case, the Marquise de Pompadour has lighted and stirs two passions, or rather two weaknesses, of the king : his anger against parliament, and his hatred to the King of Prussia. A well-informed courtier gives me advice on these two sensitive points, and warns me to take care what I say, for the Court is full of spies, and the king will not bear contradiction on those two points.

Yet it is observable in the character of his Majesty that his emotions are all momentary. The first nights which follow any event that is contrary to his ideas he cannot sleep, he is restless; then, after a few hours, he thinks no more about it. It is thus on the days when he has to make some answer to parliament. When it is made, he goes off to his country-houses and plants his groves. The work is done in the little council of the favourite, and the ministers in office are no other than shams.

[January 1, 1757.] The king has lately said as follows: "There must be no king if parliament is still to exist such as it was before my *lit de justice* on the 13th of December." They make of this speech an affair of the *highest obstinacy* — such as that of the bull *Unigenitus* was with Louis XIV. The strength of obstinacy is greater in men of narrow minds than in those of more enlightened spirits. Sorrow to those who make our monarchs obstinate!

This is the work of the episcopacy and the courtiers, the women especially; whereas reason in general and that of the State say the contrary. Thus a sad and serious shade is cast upon the future; the People are dumbly wrathful, and we cannot think that channels are lacking through which *ideas of resistance* are passing into the popular mind: on all sides are men of law, superior and inferior agents, innumerable myrmidons, barristers, together with a general esteem for the magistracy (which is really the most estimable portion of the nation to-day for its morals, its knowledge, and its ideas); all the second order of the clergy who are opposed to the bull *Unigenitus*, also their devout parishioners, and all the provinces and their superior courts. And besides all these influences are the misery that preaches, the magistrates who comfort, a dumb displeasure at the Court, a fury, not disguised, against the greed of financial

men, open revolt against the intendants, envy, poverty, and hunger.

[January 4.] The Abbé de Bernis was declared, night before last, a minister of State, the effect of the great and dishonourable influence of Mme. de Pompadour.

[January 6.] Last night, at six o'clock in the evening, as the king was getting into his carriage to spend the Epiphany at Trianon, he was struck by the dagger of a wicked assassin, who, they say, is named Damiens,—a man from Artois, who sold stones at Versailles to take out stains. He was instantly arrested. The guard watched badly; one of the valets and a mousquetaire seized him. The king had noticed him in passing, and said, "There is a drunken man." Then the traitor, who was fifteen feet behind the king, rushed quickly on his sacred person, and struck him with a dagger between the hip and the ribs. There are different accounts of the wound: some say it is not deep, others the reverse. It has been proved, they say, that the blade was not poisoned.

The king, feeling himself weak, thought he was about to fall, but had the presence of mind to say, "Arrest that unhappy man, but do him no harm." They carried his Majesty at once to his chamber, and cared for the wound; La Martellière, his chief surgeon, applied the first compress, which has not been lifted at the time of my present writing. The king told those about him to be careful of the person of the dauphin.

The Keeper of the Seals questioned the man; he said they had better take care of the dauphin or he would be killed before midnight. They heated his feet, and he said if it had to be done again he would do it, that he had accomplices, but the time had not come to name them. He was very firm,—not crazy, but wicked. No one can com-

prehend this thing. From what quarter comes the blow? People say from the priests, that Order is so hated in Paris. The king is, at bottom, beloved by his subjects, and all are touched at this attack, and by his danger.

As they carried the king upstairs he said: "Why should any one want to kill me? I have harmed no one."

[January 7.] The king's wound will have no bad consequences, and he will be out in a few days. He did, however, think himself in danger, and he made a speech to the dauphin as if he expected to give him the reins of empire; he said to him: "My son, I leave you a kingdom in much trouble; may you govern it better than I have done."

It is important to know if the assassin was instigated to this act by any one, as the money on his person would denote. If he persists in his firmness and silence we shall know nothing. Each of the two parties, Molinist and Jansenist, insist that Damien acted at the instigation of the other. For that reason, they watch every word he says. He had upon his person a copy of the "Imitation of Jesus Christ;" then he was thought a bigot. He said he had been to confession to a Jesuit father, and, later, to a father of the Oratory. He spoke ill of bishops, and said three of them ought to have their necks wrung; which seemed to connect him with the Jansenists. He said the king governed badly, and it was rendering a great service to the nation to kill him, etc.

The king said to the Duc d'Ayen, captain of the Guards on service, "You must allow, monsieur, that I am well guarded!" A satirical speech very hard to pocket, which was enough to make the officers of the Guards die of shame.

[January 9.] It cannot be got out of people's heads that this attack has been instigated, and they attribute it to the Jesuits, on account of their eagerness for the reign of

the dauphin, who is wholly on their side. An affair has just happened which seems to confirm these suspicions. The Jesuit, Père Patrouillet, being exiled to Amiens, his trunk was stolen on the way; the thieves took only the money and the good clothes, and left the rest and all the papers, which were taken to the municipal court at Clermont. The judges would not give them up without examination. Père Patrouillet was uneasy and showed extraordinary agitation, betraying that his correspondence with the archbishop was of importance; but so far it is only conjectured that it related to Damien's attack.

[January 15.] It is quite true that since the attempt on the king's life Mme. de Pompadour has not seen his Majesty for an instant. She bears her disgrace by disguising it, but, little by little, people are abandoning her. She has not even received a note from his Majesty, who seems not to think of her. During all these days he has constantly seen Père Desmarets, his confessor, and he has made the queen many declarations of friendship and good conduct. All this foreshadows a great change at Court. The dauphin is now of the Council, and finds credit there.

This coldness, these scruples towards the marquise certainly give my brother a fine chance to become the most influential man in the ministry. Already M. de Machault wears an air of sadness, and his colleagues are shrunk.

[January 16.] Yesterday the king paid a visit to Mme. de Pompadour; to-day his Majesty goes to the chapel. There will be no *Te Deum* in Paris,—his Majesty still distrusting the love of the Parisians.

[January 17.] It is at last decided that the army of the Prince de Soubise, of 24,000 men only, will start on the 25th of February; it will be fifty-two days on the march to the frontiers of Bohemia. It is said that since this determination

another courier has brought word that the empress-queen would prefer money, but we prefer to give her men.

So, then, we go to the conquest of Silesia. All the forces of Austria will be there, with those she can draw from Hungary, and 60,000 Russians (bad troops). The King of Prussia will not fail to defend himself with the better ones, well disciplined, which he possesses, also good German troops furnished by his Britannic Majesty, and possibly some Danish cavalry.

Saturday evening the king paid a visit to Mme. de Pompadour; so her fate is no longer uncertain. The favour of the Keeper of the Seals totters, and they say he looks sad and changed.

The Court of Vienna is still making fruitless efforts to get the empire to declare against the Prussian king; it resists, — and, truly, the arguments used are only sophisms.

A Prussian general has been sent to Hanover to arrange the operations of the coming campaign.

[January 18.]¹

¹D'Argenson wrote the above date, but there his manuscript stops short. He died on the 26th of January of a carbuncle at the back of his neck.—Tr.

APPENDIX I.

MESDAMES DE FRANCE, daughters of Louis XV., form a group by themselves. The eldest were twins, born in 1727: Madame Louise-Élisabeth and Madame Henriette. The first married the Infant Don Philip, second son of Philip V. of Spain, and Duke of Parma. In a certain way she was fatal to France, but she was the favourite of her father and an idol at Court during her visits there after her marriage. She was the only married daughter of Louis XV. Madame Henriette, her twin sister, was the most sympathetic of the family, but very timid and always trembling before the king. She expected for a time to marry the Duc de Chartres, whom she loved; but Cardinal de Fleury opposed the marriage from fear of increasing the influence of the Orléans family. When the Duc de Chartres married the Princesse de Conti, Madame Henriette said to him, "Be happy; your happiness will give me strength to live." As long as he seemed happy she lived; when it was apparent that his marriage was most unhappy she fell ill, refused all remedies, and died (1752).

Madame Adélaïde (born 1732, died 1800) was quite another person. Eager and vehement, with a bass voice and masculine ways, she was full of whims and lacked balance in all her faculties; she amused and startled the king; she compromised herself by her behaviour; ardent in her rancour as in her friendships she threatened the mistresses and was the strongest support of her bigoted family.

Madame Victoire (born 1733, died 1799) followed Madame Adélaïde as a dog its master. She had, however, more peaceable tastes, liked long repasts, succulent dishes, especially chickens in rice.

Madame Sophie (born 1734, died 1782), more timid than even the queen, and very ugly, never daring to look at any one except sideways, like a hare. She was never gracious except during

a storm; if it lightened she grasped your hand, when it thundered she clung to you.

Madame Louise (born 1737, died 1787) had all the vivacity of her sister Adélaïde. She was an intrepid horsewoman; but she had the lofty piety of Madame Henriette. She made herself a carmelite nun at Saint-Denis in 1770. "I, a Carmelite," she said, "and the king converted to God, what happiness! God can do this, and God will do it." — FR. ED.

APPENDIX II.

GEORGES ROUX, or de Roux, "supported usefully for twenty years the French colony of Martinique, which, by his care, became the most flourishing in America; he aided it to a traffic of more than fifty millions in food-stuffs and manufactures exported from this kingdom, to which he brought back in exchange much gold and silver; on many occasions he relieved the people of Provence by importing quantities of wheat at no profit to himself." By letters patent his estate at Brue was erected into a marquissate, "not only in consideration of his preceding services, but also because, by the quantity of ships and other sea-going vessels which he has afloat, he has provided the means of living to thousands of sailors and other seamen, so that he formed an immense body of mariners who have since served the State usefully; besides which, in a time of great scarcity of money, the intendant of the city of Toulon having large and urgent payments to make for the king's service, Georges de Roux furnished all the necessary sums gratuitously and without interest. At the beginning of the last war against the English, he caused to be mounted all the batteries of the port of Marseille, armed the inhabitants and put himself at their head; which prevented the landing which Admiral Matthews, commanding the English squadron, composed of forty-two vessels of war, contemplated making."

Georges de Roux, appointed Councillor of State in 1765, died at his Château of Brue, March 13, 1792, almost ruined in consequence of his sacrifices. See letters patent of 1642, and 1650, from which the above quotations are made. — FR. ED.



*Mesdames Louise-Elisabeth
and Henriette de France.*

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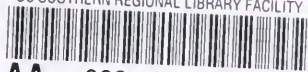
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